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of Detroit

in memory of her brother
Col. William Henry Coyle
1894.



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THE
HOLBEIN-SOCIETY'S
Fac-simile Reprints.

VOL. I.
The Dance of Death.

PUBLISHED FOR THE HOLBEIN-SOCIETY.
BY A. BROTHERS, ST. ANN'S SQUARE, MANCHESTER; AND
TRÜBNER AND CO., PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON.

M.DCCC.LXIX.





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The Holbein-Society's fac-simile Reprints.

Les Simulachres & Histoires Faces de la Mort:

COMMONLY CALLED

"THE DANCE OF DEATH."

TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY

HENRY GREEN, M.A.

WITH A SKETCH OF HOLBEIN'S LIFE AND WORKS,
AND SOME EXPLANATORY NOTES.

**In diesen kleinen Blättchen ist eine Welt von Gedanken und
Bezügen mit höchster Meisterschaft zusammengefaßt.**

KUGLER, vol. ii. p. 287.

PUBLISHED FOR THE HOLBEIN-SOCIETY.
BY A. BROTHERS, ST. ANN'S SQUARE, MANCHESTER; AND
TRÜBNER AND CO., PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON.

M.DCCC.LXIX.



MANCHESTER :
PRINTED BY CHARLES SIMMS AND CO.



PREFACE.

“**I**N these few small leaves there is a world of thoughts and relations united together with highest mastery :”—such is the judgment pronounced by Kugler upon the Series of dramatic sketches which Hans Holbein the younger has drawn of Death and his Progress amid the various ranks and conditions of mankind.

After an interval of nearly 330 years the service which Lyons rendered to literature, by sending into light one of the choice specimens of artistic skill, has been acknowledged by an English city, where also the shuttle and the loom have been creators of the power to uphold the interests of an enlightened civilization. In veritable form and feature, without excess or diminution of line or point, the whole work, which was a delight ten generations ago for the exquisite beauty of its designs and the perfectness of their execution, has been reproduced, we trust, for the approval of our contemporaries, and for the making

more widely appreciated the quaint yet solemn meditations with which the Lyonese *Jean de Vauzelles* inaugurated the workmanship of Hans Holbein and Lützelburger.

France, Germany, and the British Isles thus combine to uphold the brotherhood of nations. The French, the German, and the English, together with the language of old Rome, in texts from the scripture of truth, speak to us of the universal doom and of the universal hope. And why should not the same languages, everywhere, almost the earth around, tell of amity, peace, and progress?

Were due regard to be paid only to the literary excellences of the editions of Holbein's *Images of Death*, to which the names of Francis Douce and of Noel Humphreys are attached, and indeed to the skill and care with which the devices are reproduced, the necessity for another edition might well be questioned. But, though founded on and taken from the Lyons edition of 1538, their editions are not full and complete fac-similes of that beautiful volume. Such a fac-simile, entire in all its parts, is now offered as the first publication of the HOLBEIN-SOCIETY. Both text and device are here set forth; and as the original work is in the almost universal French, an English translation throughout is alone attempted.

Some explanation of the method of reproduction pursued in our work may be of interest to the Subscribers. Each page of the original edition of 1538

has been copied by the ordinary process of Photography. Thus a *negative* was obtained of the exact size of the original, and containing all its excellences as well as its defects, where they exist. Some of these faults could have been removed in the after-processes, but it was thought preferable that no restoration should be attempted. The blemishes alluded to are not, however, to be found in all copies of the 1538 edition; for instance, in plate VII. the hands of the Emperor are not perfect, but the copy is the same as the pattern, though other impressions from the same block do not show the same imperfection, which in this case has the appearance of the surface of the paper being rubbed off. But there are instances showing, on a comparison of two or three copies of the same edition, that the primary wood-blocks themselves had received damage. There are also defects which *Trechsel Fratres*, the printers, were responsible for, and as a matter of course these will be found standing uncorrected.

From the *negative* a print is taken on paper prepared with gelatine and bichromate of potash. The print is then soaked in water, and afterwards covered with transfer-ink; and when the process is completed this transfer-ink is found to adhere only to those parts of the paper where the sun-light has impressed the image. The finished print is next transferred to the lithographic-stone, and finally the proofs on paper are printed with carbon-ink in the ordinary manner.

There are many photo-lithographic processes, but the one employed in this reproduction by Mr. Brothers was kindly communicated to him by Mr. Wm. Griggs, of Peckham, near London, to whom Mr. Brothers and the Editor take this opportunity of expressing their best thanks. It is a process which, as slightly modified and simplified by Mr. Brothers, possesses many advantages. In proof, let the present work be examined.

It cannot surely be deemed an uncalled-for undertaking to give in our English tongue the thoughts which instructed a neighbouring people when Francis the First was their king. Neither can it be a useless labour to reproduce, in exact form and lineament, the works which also instructed our forefathers when the joy-bells were ringing out the re-awakening of the human mind. We may judge ourselves to have outgrown the literature of that time, but in putting on the manly gown we should not forget that the arms and skill of the fathers gave protection and guidance, while the children were preparing and being prepared for the nobler course. God guard and restore every thing that, being old, is good,—and make both old and new “better and better still in infinite progression.”

HEATHFIELD, KNUTSFORD,
April 23rd, 1869.



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INTRODUCTION.

I.—HANS HOLBEIN THE YOUNGER: A BRIEF SKETCH OF HIS LIFE AND WORK.



FOR three generations in succession, during almost a whole century from 1454, when the Italian Finiguerra was practising the new art of printing on paper from engraved plates, down to 1544, when that art was everywhere in operation, the name Hans Holbein enjoyed celebrity among the artists of Germany. Members of that family were spoken of with honour for the various works of merit to which they had given origin.

"Old Hans Holbein," as Wornum names him, p. 50, and whom he considers as a myth, — "Grandfather Hans Holbein," according to Woltmann, ii., 58–9, who regards him as a reality, — is supposed to have flourished during the latter half of the fifteenth century. To him are attributed two undoubted works bearing the dates 1459 and 1499. The *one* is a Madonna with the Child, sitting on a bank of turf, amid flowers and birds; the *other* is a considerable Series of six paintings, in which are represented the Seven chief churches of Rome, with biblical and legendary occurrences, as prayer-stations for the Nuns of the old foundation of S. Catharine.*

* See Kugler's *Handbuch der Malerei* II. p. 182; and Woltmann's *Holbein und seine Zeit* I. 59 and 60.

This Hans Holbein the grandfather had two sons who were painters, the one known as Hans the elder, born at Augsburg, about 1460, the other Sigismund, who was born about 1470, and was living at Berne in 1540. (*Wornum*, pp. 54 and 71; *Woltmann*, vol. i., pp. 72, 184, and 186.)

Of Hans Holbein the elder the estimate is given by Kugler, vol. ii., p. 183, that his works were of a Flemish character. "His naturalism, however, was always of an independent kind, like that of the greater part of his Upper-german contemporaries; there is an inborn rejoicing in the many-sidedness of Life and of Character, as for example in his Portrait-figures, which in defiance of their too-short proportions are generally in a high degree true and life-like. Less did the Master strive after higher beauty and ideal worth." From either Kugler, Wornum, or Woltmann a full account may be obtained of this artist's works still existing and known.

The other son, Sigismund, is of no renown as an engraver; but some of his paintings are well spoken of by Kugler (vol. ii., p. 186) and others; for instance, one now at Nuremberg, the Madonna on a throne, over whom Angels are holding a crown and a canopy. "The heads are fine and noble, the drapery flowing, and the colouring of great force, warmth, and clearness."

When, as commonly reported, Hans Holbein the elder settled, or rather resided, at Bâle in 1516,* he was accompanied by his three sons, Ambrose, Hans the younger, and Bruno: see *Wornum*, pp. 67 and 68. They all followed painting as their profession. Of Bruno little is known as a painter. To Ambrose, with much appearance of truth, are ascribed a Portrait, in the Belvedere at Vienna, and the Figures of two boys, in the public collection at Bâle. (*Kugler*, vol. ii., p. 292; *Woltmann*, vol. ii., p. 44.)

What the two brothers left undone for fame, or even unattempted, Hans, the third brother, has most amply redeemed. His numerous works, preserved at Berlin, Dresden, Munich, and Vienna, at Augsburg and Bâle, at Paris, and in London, and especially at Windsor castle, are the

* An earlier visit was paid there in 1508.

records of his life, and attest both what his powers were and how steadily he employed them. They began to be exercised with his earliest youth, and continued active until death arrested his hand, while its skill remained and its vigour was unabated.

The birth-year of Hans Holbein the younger has been variously stated; respecting the place of his birth there has also been doubt, but it is generally agreed to have been in or near Augsburg. (*Wornum*, pp. 40 and 80.) The year of his birth has been assigned to A.D. 1498,—but, with stronger probabilities, the year 1495 should be named. (*Woltmann*, vol. i., pp. 112, 114, and 115.) His earliest training was in his native Germany,—and good seeds must have been sown; for in 1509, when he was only fourteen years of age, there are drawings of his in a sketch-book, now in the Berlin Museum, which manifest developing power; and in 1512, when he was seventeen, there are portraits now at Hampton court which are regarded as likenesses of his father and mother. Up to 1526, when he removed to England, year by year may his progress be tested by the works which remain, and which give evidence of his increasing skill.

To the same seventeenth year of his age may be referred the wings of an altar-piece, with figures of the beheading of S. Catharine, painted by him; also a miracle of S. Ulrich, a crucifixion of S. Peter, and a Holy Family. These show how at that early time of life he already excelled his father, being superior to him in drawing and in tone of colour. The year 1514 produced a portrait of Francis von Taxis, to be praised for its life-likeness; and 1515 a martyrdom of S. Sebastian, and three portraits which have been characterized as possessing "a beauty worthy of Raphael." Besides other works, 1516 claims, as our artist's sole production, "Meyer the Burgomeister of Bâle and his wife;" it is on a blue ground, with rich renaissance architecture for ornament, and the heads possessing great truth of character and nobleness of appearance.

From those who have written fully on the subject, as Kugler, Wornum, and Woltmann, it would be easy to lengthen out the list of Holbein's youthful labours. They are

all evidences of the early developement of his power as an artist, and render probable almost every effort of genius that has been attributed to him.

From this time up to 1525 there were continual additions to his works of fame ; as the Eight portions of our Lord's Sufferings and Crucifixion, in the town-house of Bâle ; and, in the Library of the University of that city, a Christ's dead body, almost terrible for its truthfulness, yet treated with a mastery, a fulness of knowledge, and ability, which raise high admiration for the artist's power.

Holbein's renown was now established, and through an acquaintance which he had formed with Erasmus, who was residing in Bâle for the purpose of editing various works, and who often relieved Holbein's very pressing wants, he was induced to remove to London, provided with an urgent recommendation to Sir Thomas More. This event took place in 1526 or 1527. The chancellor received him with the heartiest welcome, and entertained him as a guest in his own house at Chelsea. Here for some time the artist wrought for the chancellor and his friends, and at length was introduced to the notice of the king, Henry VIII. It was in this manner : At an entertainment provided for the king, More had arranged Holbein's paintings in the hall through which the king would have to pass, — and the king admired them greatly. Hence the artist was appointed the king's painter, with apartments in the royal palace, and an ample salary, in addition to the usual payments for the pictures themselves.

Thenceforward Holbein's life was chiefly devoted to portrait-painting, and consequently was almost wasted, as regards the highest branches of Art, in which power of thought and of execution gives reality to the creations of the fancy. He laboured, indeed, greatly to the king's satisfaction, and to that of the favourites and the courtiers ; for though it was Holbein who had painted the far too flattering portrait of Ann of Cleves, whose person was so distasteful to the king, yet the painter himself did not lose the sovereign's patronage. The strength of the favour which he enjoyed was, it is said, curiously manifested. For some info-

lence and intrusion, Holbein had personally chastised a nobleman, but aware of the danger incurred he went forthwith to the king, confessed the wrong, and entreated pardon. Soon, too, came the nobleman to the king, and, with great warmth and some intemperance of language, made complaint of the outrage, and demanded a severe punishment. The king is credited with the reply: "Out of seven ploughmen I can make seven lords, but of seven lords I cannot make one Holbein."

The portraits which Holbein executed in England are very numerous;—the works of higher art only a few. Many examples of his skill in fixing the features as they pass were to be found in the Royal palaces of Windsor, Kensington, and Hampton court, and in the old mansions of the English nobility and gentry, as Arundel castle, Penshurst, Mereworth, Knowle, Northumberland house, Chatsworth, Stowe, &c.; but in some cases the exact localities are now uncertain. These portraits possess, indeed, great historical interest,—but the fact is to be regretted that they engaged so much of the artist's time, and consequently prevented him from pursuing a nobler path to fame. The fire of genius must slacken, even if it does not die, when roused by nothing save the formal splendours of sovereigns and nobles. These, we may allow, desire to have their features truthfully, if not flatteringly depicted,—but in many instances the whole contour betokens that the insignia of their rank have been introduced so as to ask from spectators the homage which natural form and expression alone would not themselves command.

We can, then, well understand the German critic, Kugler (vol. ii., p. 291), when he laments at the recital of Holbein's death: * "*Dafs er die ganze zweite Hälfte seines Lebens im Auslande zubrachte, war einer der schwersten Verluste, welche die deutsche Kunst in jener Zeit betreffen konnten;*" *his spending the whole second half of his life abroad was one of the heaviest losses which could at that time happen to German Art.*

* According to the common account, in the first year of the Catholic Mary, 1554; but as is now well known, and as we shall show, this date is an error of eleven years.

Indeed, there is no real expansion of an artist's soul when, instead of continuing to combine together, as in a dramatic series of events, various forms and characters and personages, so as to give expression to some great thought, or allegory, or fancy, he concentrates his power on single figures in a state of repose. They may have features of surpassing loveliness, or of noble and manly bearing, but they tell no history either of action or of suffering, neither do they evoke sympathy from our inner nature. Those single figures in a state of repose are simply so many square inches, it may be, of exquisite human flesh, with appropriate vesture and ornament upon it, but they do not show the rousing up of form and feature into expression and action so as to give life and at the same time fixtured to great and ennobling ideas.

No wonder, then, it should be said of the years in Holbein's career which followed, A.D. 1526: "Hitherto with each work accomplished he had conquered a new dominion, —made good a step onward, and found that every height in his art was attainable, and that not a few had been already gained. The many-varied sides of existence stood before him in their fulness, and with a depth at command such as hardly belonged to any other painter of that grand time; and though neither the ideal greatness of the Italians, nor the strength of Albert Durer, was an element of his nature, yet the wealth and power of his character offered a noble compensation for these, and, next to Durer, he had become the greatest painter of the German nation, indeed the greatest of the North."

How could he give up the splendid dowry which nature assigned to him, that he might become chief figure-painter at the court of Henry VIII.! He did well in that way, — but it was not, and could not be, the path to the higher renown.

Holbein had married three or four years before he left Bâle for England, but the exact time is not ascertained. His wife was Elizabeth Schmid, the widow of Franz Schmid. Her portrait and that of Holbein himself are given as supporters in the well known escutcheon at the end of what has been popularly named *The Dance of Death*.



There is another "most striking picture" of her and her children in the Museum of Bâle;—the elder of the children being her son Franz, by her first husband, and the younger Philip Holbein, her son by the second husband. She and the family did not accompany Holbein to England, but he contributed to their support, and occasionally visited them, as in 1529, when he remained in Bâle during 1530 and part of 1531. See *Wornum*, pp. 158 and 256.

Until quite recently Holbein's biographers placed his death in the year 1554, but the evidence of his will and of the probate of it, both bearing date the same year, show that his life ended in the 35th year of Henry VIII., A.D. 1543. In that year the will is dated "the vij. day of October," and the administration to Holbein's effects was granted on the 29th of November. He died, therefore, during this interval.* For the place of his burial, Wornum, p. 365, quotes Strype's *additions* to Stow's *Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster*, folio, London, 1720, p. 64: "I have been told that Hans Holbein, the great and inimitable painter in King Henry VIII.'s time was buried in this church," the church of S. Catherine Cree; "and that the Earl of Arundel, the great patron of learning and arts, would have set up a monument to his memory here, had he but known whereabouts the corps lay."

In his will Holbein names his "two Chylder wich lie at nurse;" so that we infer his first wife, though living in 1541, to have died soon after, and Holbein to have married again within a short time of her decease.

Various biographical dictionaries contain a notice of Holbein and of his works; as the *Biographie Universelle*;" Aikin's *General Biography*, 4to, London, 1804, vol. v., p. 226; Stanley's edition of Bryan, *Dictionary of Painters and Engravers*, London, 1849, pp. 333-341; and the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, 8vo, Paris, 1858, vol. xxiv., cols. 928-930,—but this account is very meagre: Ulrich Hegner's is much better, *Hans Holbein der Jüngere*, Berlin, 1827, with a portrait.

* See *Wornum*, pp. 22, 23, and 365-367. Also *Woltmann*, vol. ii., pp. 358 and 359, and 395-396.

On subjects connected with artists much information is found in Nagler's *Neues allgemeines Künstler-Lexicon*, 22 vols., 8vo, Munich, 1835-1852; and for a critical notice of Holbein's productions Kugler's *Handbuch der Geschichte der Malerei*,* 1847, may be consulted, vol. i., pp. 272-291.

For fulness and accuracy, however, these are all surpassed by Ralph Nicholson Wornum, keeper and secretary of the National Gallery, London,—and by Dr. Alfred Woltmann, teacher of art-history in the University of Berlin. The former has presented in folio, with numerous illustrations, *Some account of the Life and Works of Hans Holbein, Painter, of Augsburg*, London, 1867; the latter, *Holbein und seine Zeit*, with woodcuts, 8vo, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1866-1868.†

From these two works especially may be supplied the unavoidable deficiencies of a brief sketch like the present. We have purposely omitted to give an account in the foregoing pages of Holbein's *Images of Death* and of his *Bible Figures for the Old Testament*. Notices of these will occupy their proper places in the HOLBEIN-SOCIETY'S publications.

* The work was first published in 1837;—an English translation, without notes, of the first part, containing the Italian schools, was made by C. L. Eastlake, London, 1842; and of the second part, relating to the German, Flemish, and Dutch schools, a translation, with notes, by Sir Edmund Head, Bart., London, 1846.

† A translation of this excellent work into English is said to be in preparation.

II.—SOME REMARKS ON HOLBEIN'S IMAGES AND ASPECTS OF DEATH.

N immediate connexion with literature and art the name of Hans Holbein the younger is best known by being associated with the publication of various books of beauty and rarity, which in part, at least, have very often been reproduced.* As well from their excellence as from the fewness of the existing copies, the original editions must ever excite between amateurs a lively competition to be the possessors of them. Among books thus valued there are several of which the designs drawn first on the wood blocks, if not the woodcuts themselves, are attributed to Holbein. They are the following :

1. *Die Offenbarung, or Apocalypse of S. John*, 8vo, Wolff, Bâle, 1523, illustrated by twenty-one woodcuts, said to be of Holbein's workmanship, but most probably only designed by him, and engraved by Hans Lützelburger, the same who wrought out into woodcuts Holbein's block-drawings for *The Images of Death*. His *Apocalypse* is a portion of a New Testament in German. "These are interesting on that

* In his *Essai Historique sur les Danses des Morts*, 8vo, Rouen, 1851, vol. ii. pp. 111-115, LANGLOIS catalogues, 18 original editions ; pp. 115-125, 53 copies on wood ; pp. 125-135, 43 on copper ; pp. 135-136, 3 on stone ; total, 117 editions. These editions are in French, Latin, German, Italian, Bohemian, English, and Dutch, — at above thirty centres of publication.



account, because they show Holbein to us in the same department in which Albert Dürer had exercised himself." *Woltmann*, vol. ii. pp. 43-45.

2. *ΜΟΡΙΑΣ ΕΤΚΩΜΙΟΝ* (*i.e.* Praise of Folly), cum commentariis Ger. Listerii et figuris Io. Holbenii, e codice Academiæ basiliensis, 8vo, *Basiliæ, types genethianis* 1676. The woodcuts of this edition were made from Holbein's sketches, eighty-three in number, with which, while Erasmus and he were resident in Bâle, he ornamented a certain copy of the work, which Erasmus himself read to the artist. Wornum, pp. 154-157, and Woltmann, vol. i. p. 274-283, are not altogether of the same opinion. The latter says: "That it made sport for Erasmus to see his book so illustrated, we willingly believe, since with so penetrating an intelligence it entered into his very spirit."

3. PASTIME OF PEOPLE, 4to, Ruffel, London, 1529; containing chronicles of divers realms, and most especially of the realm of England. The woodcuts have been attributed to Holbein. "T. F. Dibdin republished the work in 1811, with woodcuts by John Nesbit." The original copies are very rare. Bryan's *Dictionary*, by Stanley, p. 340.

4. SIMULACHRES & HISTORIEES FACES DE LA MORT; fm. 4to, Trechsel Brothers, Lyons, 1538. There are forty-one plates from Holbein's drawing, and almost of a certainty from Lützelburger's workmanship. See Wornum, p. 186; and Woltmann, vol. ii. p. 109, &c.

5. HISTORIARUM VETERIS INSTRUMENTI ICONES AD VIVUM EXPRESSÆ, &c., 4to, Trechsel Brothers, Lyons, 1538. The ninety woodcuts of this edition are considered the joint production of Holbein and Lützelburger, and are without the French verses. A second edition in 1539 contains the two sets of stanzas, one in Latin, by Bourbon, and one in French, by Corrozet. See Wornum, p. 188; and Woltmann, vol. ii. pp. 55-60, &c.

The works numbered 4 and 5 have been in part reproduced, in fac-simile, by F. Douce, in Pickering's edition, 1833, and in Bohn's, 1858; the plates also of the former, No. 4, by Noel Humphreys, in Quaritch's edition, 1868.

Many designs for frontispieces of books, and similar illustrations, have, with justice, been attributed to Holbein; but to give an account of these would exceed the limits of our plan. Two or three of Holbein's devices appeared in 1548, in a Catechism "set forth by the moste reverende father in God, Thomas, Archbyshop of Canterbury;" and eight, to beautify, as they did, the *Lord's Prayer*. For a notice of such remains of the great artist it will be easy to consult Stanley and Bryan's *Dictionary of Painters, &c.*, 1849, pp. 340 and 341.

Two only of these works do the HOLBEIN-SOCIETY propose to reprint entire in fac-simile, by the photo-lithographic process,—the one essentially a French book, dated Lyons, 1538, *Les simulachres & Historiees Faces de la Mort*; the other a Latin book, with a French exposition, first printed in the same year, but of which the edition for 1547, *Icones Historiarum Veteris Instrumenti*, is reputed to offer the best impressions of the original plates.

Their artistic merits have now for centuries excited admiration as well for the beauty of the designs as for the perfectness of the engraving. Their rich mellow softness who can declare; or believe that out of mere blocks of wood such grace and life can be evolved!

The first-named of these two works, commonly, though inaccurately, named Holbein's *Dance of Death*, the HOLBEIN-SOCIETY now presents in fac-simile reprint. The copy of the original edition which has been employed for the purpose is in every respect perfect, and is a fine example of the very choice Books of Emblems collected by the Rev. Thomas Corser, Rector of Stand, near Manchester, and, alas! at this very hour, when these lines are under correction, being dispersed at public sale. With great readiness

he sanctioned our undertaking by offering the use of this copy, and most cordially, in the name of the HOLBEIN-SOCIETY, do we acknowledge the obligation.*

The most competent of critics on this particular work, Frances Douce, in Pickering's edition of the *Dance of Death*, 1833, p. 82, and in Bohn's edition, 1858, p. 72, says of the volume we are reproducing: "It has forty-one cuts most exquisitely designed and engraved on wood, in a manner which several modern artists only of England and Germany have been competent to rival. As to the designs of these truly elegant prints, no one who is at all skilled in the knowledge of Holbein's style and manner of grouping his figures would hesitate immediately to ascribe them to that artist. Some persons have imagined that they had actually discovered the portrait of Holbein in the subject of the nun and the lover (No. xxiv.); but the painter, whoever he may have been, is more likely to be represented in the last cut, as one of the supporters of the escutcheon of Death. In these designs, which are wholly different from the dull and oftentimes disgusting Macaber Dance, which is confined, with little exception, to two figures only, we have the most interesting assemblages of characters, among whom the skeletonized Death, with all the animation of a living person, forms the most important personage; sometimes amusingly ludicrous, occasionally mischievous, but always busy, and characteristically occupied."

Similar in their import are Dibdin's remarks in his *Bibliographical Decameron*, 1817, vol. i. p. 39. They occur in a note on that *Dance of Death*, which had been introduced into the *Horæ*, printed by Verard, of Paris, "somewhere about the year 1489;" and on "the numerous,† perhaps, innumerable editions which succeeded."

* The Keir Library of Sir Wm. Stirling-Maxwell, Bart., has also supplied copies of three editions of Holbein's Death Figures, 1538, 1545, and 1566.

† Of the Books of Prayers, named *Horæ*, *Heures*, or *Hours*, printed between 1490 and 1701, an authentic list of 114 editions, in French, German, Latin, Spanish, and English, is given in *Essai Historique sur les Danses des Morts*, par E. H. Langlois, Rouen, 1851, vol. i. pp. 343-362. Brunet's *Manuel*, 1864, vol. v. cols. 1553-1690, extends the number to 364 editions.

"I have no hesitation," he says, "in believing (however that belief may differ from the opinions of very competent judges) that EDITIONS OF THE DANCE OF DEATH (that is to say, small volumes, in which were woodcuts, accompanied by text exclusively devoted to the subject under description) were *unknown* till the time of HOLBEIN. Whether that great artist painted one, two, or three series of the same subject, in fresco or in oil, at Basel or at Whitehall, is immaterial to the point; all I contend for is, that we are indebted to Hans Holbein for these beautiful and instructive manuals of morality. There is abundance of intrinsic evidence that the cuts forming these manuals originated from the genius of Holbein. The author of the tasteful edition before quoted seems doubtful whether he designed them *upon the wood* for the engraver; but he is clearly of opinion that he did not *absolutely engrave them*. From their superiority to a set of cuts which bear that artist's name expressly upon them — introduced, however, probably, to show that Holbein only made the designs upon the wood — I incline to the same opinion, and also think that the set of small drawings by Holbein, sketched with a pen and slightly shaded with Indian ink — formerly in the Crozat collection, and lately in that of Prince Gallitzin (the Russian ambassador at the court of Vienna), at whose house they were seen by Mr. Coxe, the traveller, but now in the Emperor of Russia's collection — may have been the originals, or ancient copies from the originals, from which the earliest editions were published.* That Hans Holbein *invented the Dance of Death* is scarcely worthy of refutation."

After concluding that Lützelburger engraved what Holbein had designed, Langlois, in his *Essai Historique*, vol. ii. p. 94, says: "Cette Danse n'est pas, comme la plupart de celles du moyen âge, une suite non interrompue de personnages enlevés par la Mort, qui gambade avec des poses plus ou moins comiques. C'est une représentation fidèle des

* Wornum's Remarks, p. 187, are well worth reading on this subject. Woltmann, in his Supplement, vol. ii. p. 410, while pointing out some errors in the usual accounts, intimates that the Crozat collection now forms part of the rich collection of M. Ambrose Firmin Didot, of Paris.

scènes de la vie humaine. Le peintre, peut-être moins fatirique que Nicolas Manuel dans sa Danse de Berne, mais plus habile et plus heureux que lui dans le choix de ses tableaux, a su animer son Squelette avec une originalité piquante, et placer ses personnages dans une scène propre à leur état, à leur position."

Woltmann, in his *Holbein und seine Zeit*, ii. vols., 1866-1868, in vol. ii. pp. 40-128 and 407-410, gives an admirable account of the whole subject. We have only room for the introduction, p. 109: "At the same time, with the Figures of the Old Testament came the first edition of the Death-Figures, in Lyons, by the Brothers Trechsel. There were forty-one leaves, without titles for the single leaves, but instead with Latin Bible-passages and with French verses of Giles Corrozet, which for later editions were translated into Latin by Luther's brother-in-law, George Cœmel, or Æmylius. The succession of the leaves had, in 1538, become different; the spiritual were no more separated from the laity, the men from the women. To the Pope, as in both sets of figures on the wall in Bâle, follows the Emperor. In this succession, which in the placing together of leaves is often, to a very high degree, imaginative, we shall later observe the single leaves. The impressions in this edition do not show the blackness of the Bâle proofs, but a lighter tone, yet are also represented with extreme carefulness, as the tender nature of the work demands."

The most recent judgment in England upon Holbein's claims has been propounded by H. Noel Humphreys, in his *Photo-lithographic Fac-similes*, London, Quaritch, 1868, a work of much research. In the introductory remarks, p. 28, when speaking of the alphabets of Holbein, in the letters of which were introduced the images and aspects of Death, Humphreys says: "But while there is abundant evidence of the authority of these alphabets, there is no positively direct proof which enables us to assign to Holbein the far more important and almost matchless series of designs for the illustrations of *The Dance of Death*, published at Lyons

in 1538; and yet such is the internal evidence afforded by the work itself that no careful student of art can feel a moment's doubt upon the subject."

Other reasons are there assigned for the same conclusion, and for the concealment of the author's name. These lead the writer to declare, p. 30: "I shall therefore assume that, with two exceptions, these designs are the genuine work of Hans Holbein, the stamp of whose peculiar genius and manner they indubitably bear."

And thus, appearing as it were to deliver judgment, does Wornum, p. 181, sum up the testimonies: "The evidence that this remarkable series of woodcuts is from the original designs of Holbein is not conclusive, and this fact has accordingly been disputed. However, some, as for instance Rumohr, have gone to the extent of asserting Holbein to have been not only the designer of the work, but its engraver also. This opinion, as already stated, I do not adopt. That Holbein was the author of the designs I cannot but believe; they bear in their vigour and dignity an internal evidence of his hand; the specimen engraven above (*i.e.* the last of the series, often called the arms of Death) is thoroughly Holbeinesque; it is quite in the style of the 'Ambassadors,' at Longford Castle. There is no other German artist known who could be reasonably substituted for Holbein. Further, we have the evidence of a contemporary, and probably Holbein's friend,* Nicholas Bourbon, a French poet, who was in England, and thus speaks of the designs as Holbein's (as given by Woltmann, vol. ii. p. 112):

'De morte picta a Hanfo pictore nobili

Dum mortis Hanfus pictor imaginem exprimit,
Tanta arte mortem rettulit, ut mors vivere

* Holbein's friend undoubtedly. See Woltmann, vol. ii. pp. 58, 112, 243, and 245, where are Latin stanzas, by Bourbon, in the painter's praise; and p. 245, a letter to the king's secretary in 1536, among other greetings, as, to "Lord Thomas Cranmer, the archbishop of Canterbury, &c.," concludes with naming "*Herrn Hansen, den königlich Maler, den Apelles unserer Zeit,*" and adding, "I wish and pray for them with all my heart all joy and prosperity."



Videatur ipse : et ipse se immortalibus
Parem Diis feceret operis huius gloria." *i.e.*

Concerning Death painted by Hans the noble painter.

While Hans the painter does death's form portray
With greatest art, and death doth life appear, —
By glory of his work he leads the way
To rank with gods immortal, as their peer.

Further into the controversy respecting the designer and delineator of these *Images & Storied Aspects of Death* we need not enter.* Incontrovertible is the fact that they were printed in French at Lyons, by Trechsel Brothers, in 1538; and strong the probability that in another form, and with German stanzas attached, they had appeared at Bâle as early as 1527 or 1530. Versions were soon issued in other languages as Latin, German, and Italian, and to the original number of forty or forty-one plates additions were made, until there were forty-nine, fifty-three, fifty-eight, and even sixty. With these we have little to do, as our chief object is to remark on the first French edition now reproduced.

It will be noted that the first two designs in the series of woodcuts, the Creation and Temptation, are simply introductory, and that the representations of the entrance and progress of death commence with the expulsion from Eden. At the head of the devices are passages of Scripture from the Latin vulgate, and below them, descriptive of the pictured events, are French stanzas of four lines each, very simple, and unfinished in their structure. Their authorship has been assigned to Jean de Vauzelles, one of three Lyonese brothers, of literary celebrity, and also to Giles Corrozet, of Paris,† the same who wrote the French verses at the beginning and end of Holbein's *Bible Figures*. The French stan-

* In answer to the questions, "Holbein a-t-il dessiné cette Danse des Morts ? l'a-t-il gravée ?" Langlois, vol. ii. pp. 82-92, states the argument clearly and fairly.

† Woltmann, vol. ii. p. 109, uses the phrase, "mit Lateinischen Bibelstellen und mit Französischen Versen des Gilles Corrozet."

zas in the *Figures of Death* are indeed easy enough to put together, but in 1540 Corrozet published his beautifully illustrated book of emblems, which is entitled *Hecatomgraphie*; and as in this work the *hundred devices* are explained in similar quatrains, Corrozet's claim to the authorship, in the absence of other proof, may be allowed.

But with reference to the French dedication. "A movlt reverende Abbessse—Madame Jehanne de Toufzele"—the dedication itself betrays, in the words "Salut d'un vray Zele," a proof of authorship. Brunet's *Manuel du Libraire*, vol. iii. col. 255, furnishes plain intimation of this; but the full fact we learn from Woltmann's recondite work, vol. ii. p. 110, where the testimonies are shown. "The author of the Preface," he says, has not indeed undersigned his name, but has sufficiently indicated it. It is JOHN DE VAUZELLES, one of the three famous brothers Vauzelles,* who at that time played a great part in the literary life of Lyons. 'D'un vray zele' was his customary device, which also precedes in other writings; and then, as on entering upon his dedication, he reminds the Abbesses how, even to her initial letter T, her christian and surnames are perfectly like to his own.† John de Vauzelles was parson of Saint Romain, at Lyons, and prior of Montrottier. He is known as a poet, a scholar, and as both an author and a translator of religious writings."

It is therefore reasonable to conclude that to John de Vauzelles may also be ascribed the authorship of the other dissertations which make up the prose text of *Les simulachres & Historiées Faces de la Mort*, and to which Holbein supplied the designs and Lützelburger the wood engravings.

In the very spirit of Holbein the painter did Lützelburger the engraver work; and yet beyond his works almost nothing about him is known. Wornum, p. 186, says of him :

* In 1550, Brunet gives the name "Matthieu de Vauzelles" as author of "Traité des péages, en six livres, Lyon, Jean de Tournes, in-4. de 207 pp."

† That is *Jehanne* and *Jean*, *Zele* and *Zelles*. On this subject, Langlois, vol. ii. p. 90, remarks: "Il est certain que les mots de Vauzelles et Toufzelle terminent de même, et qu'il n'y a pas d'autre moyen de comprendre cette phrase qu'en les rapprochant: c'est alors regarder Jean de Vauzelles comme l'auteur de la dédicace."

"He was living in 1522, but was possibly dead in 1538. He was certainly an exquisite wood engraver, if the cuts of *The Dance of Death* are his work."

What is to be gleaned respecting him has been laboriously collected by Woltmann, vol. ii. pp. 8-11, and 405-431, *passim*. "Hanns Lützelburger, formschnider, genannt Franck, as the artist names himself on a leaf of the Death's Alphabet, is a personality which ever remains concealed from us in darkness, as is the case with so many artists of our native land, which possesses no Vafari."* At Colmar, about forty miles from Strasburg, the church book records, 1495, a Margaret Lützelburgerin, and after 1536 a John Lützelburger. When our engraver assumed the second name Franck, the name Lützelburger may have been left out. In Bâle there lived a painter, Hans Franck. In the red book of the Himmel's Fraternity, or guild of that city, his name occurs before the year 1513; and many times between 1516 and 1519 it is found in the accounts of the town council. Further, there was a Hans Franck, who at Augsburg, in 1516, worked at a wood engraving then in progress, the triumphal entry of Maximilian, — but his identity is not established.

A short note among the Amerbach Papers (Woltmann, vol. ii. p. 405) mentions the artist in these words: "Lützelburger, autor biblicarum historiarum excusarum Lugduni, 1522." In that same year a large woodcut, vol. ii. p. 9, representing the fight of peasants and naked men in a wood, after the device of an unknown master, with the monogram N.H., bears the subscription, HANNIS LEVCZELBVRGER FVRMSCHNIDER 1522. The next year was published at Bâle, by Thomas Wolff, the German edition of the New Testament, with a splendid title-page designed by Holbein. The woodcut is marked H. L. FVR. (that is Furmschnider, figure-cutter.†) Among Holbein's death-figures there is also one, the Duchefs, showing Lützelburger's monogram HL; and this may date as early as 1527 or 1530.

* See his famous "Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori, ed architetti," published at Florence, 4to, iii. vols., 1568; and "corrette da molti errori, ed illustrate con note," by Bottari, Rome, iii. vols. 4to, 1759-1760.

† See also Langlois, vol. ii. pp. 91-94.

"And ever the more," declares Woltmann, vol. ii. p. 10, "he worked on in Holbein's quietness, and held truly and perfectly firm to the spirit and discourse of this master, ever became he freer and superior to technicality. So stands he next to Jerome of Nuremburg and Jost Dienecker as the third master of the first rank among the German figure-cutters of this epoch; but he forms an entirely new standard in his art, the *fine-cut*, which had not been attended to by the two others." It appears that it was towards 1538 that Lützelburger died, as may be inferred from the preface of John de Vauzelles, sign. Aiiij. *rev.*; "tresgrâdemēt viēt a regreter la mort de celluy, qui nous en a icy imaginé si elegâtes figures."

In some of his series of figures where death is supreme, Holbein no doubt has introduced, according to his practice, portraits of his contemporaries and of himself. In device vi. the Pope might be named Alexander VI., born Roderic Borgia, and the kneeling emperor be Maximilian I., who ascended the imperial throne in 1493. In device vii. the emperor, so Humphreys says, "is evidently the same Maximilian," who died in 1519. And the king, in device viii., is Francis I., who reigned over France from 1515 to 1547. The cardinal, in device ix., appears selling an indulgence, and may represent the Cardinal Cajetan, who died in 1534, and was especially engaged in opposing Luther and his doctrines. Who the empress is, in device x., it is difficult to decide; Mary of Burgundy, the wife of Maximilian I., had died in 1482; Isabella of Portugal was the empress of Charles V., and may be here represented. In device xi. the queen has been supposed to be the wife of Francis, — his first wife Claude, and not Eleanora, the sister of Charles V., whom the king married in 1529, and who survived her husband. The Prince-electör, the Lord-abbot, the Lady-abbess, &c., may all have been portraits, and in the author's day may have been capable of being recognised and identified; but to us they have no other individuality than that which belongs to the scenes in which they bear a part.



It has been said that the young man playing the guitar to the Canoness or nun at her devotions, device xxiv., is intended for Holbein himself. This may be so; but conjecture rises almost to certainty in the last device, No. xli., where the supporters to the escutcheon of Death are a man and woman in full vigour and adornment. Compare the man's head with the portrait of Holbein, as given in their works by Wornum and Woltmann, and though the stately caps and garments differ, and the ages also, the features possess great similitude, and, as Humphreys remarks, p. 118, bear "certainly a strong resemblance to the artist's undoubted portraits."

The special literature of *The Dance of Death*, its origin, its spread over nations ancient and modern, its variations, changes, and growth, and the vast number of editions, representations, and versions, not merely since the invention of printing, but before, would demand a whole volume, of no trifling size, in which to treat the subject with fulness and justice. Even if such a history came within our province as editor of this fac-simile reprint, we must decline the labour, because others have already done it so admirably as to deserve highest praise. We would especially refer to a *Dissertation on the several Representations of the Subject*, by Francis Douce, Esq., F.A.S. With scholarship so abundant, and with research so scrutinising, he has completed his remarks, and has presented them to the public in so accessible a form, that, except with regard to materials and information gathered since his day, it is superfluous, as it would be impertinent, again to cover the ground which he has so richly planted. He leaves, indeed, nothing for the general reader to desire. Without hesitation, therefore, we commend the editions of his work by Pickering, in 1833, and by Bohn, in 1858.

More clearly to understand the subject, very advantageous will it be carefully to go through Wornum's volume already quoted, and more particularly chap. x. pp. 176-191, treating of *The Dance of Death* and *Bible Cuts*; and thoroughly to study it, the fuller and more recondite pages of Wolt-



mann must be diligently examined, not in their entirety indeed, unless Holbein's self is to be mastered, but in those parts that treat of our special subject. And with much profit may there be kept in mind the *Explanatory Descriptions*, by Noel Humphreys, of the forty-one devices; nor would any one desiring information pass lightly over his *Concise History of the Origin and subsequent Developement of the Subject*. We must mention, also, the *Essai Historique, Philosophique et Pittoresque sur les Danses des Morts*, par E. H. LANGLOIS, ii. vols., 8vo, Rouen, 1851.

The character of the stanzas, French doggrel, which are appended to the devices, is such as to warn against the attempt to translate them into English rhymes. If the original be followed with any degree of exactness, the result will be such as Douce himself describes, in a manuscript note to a copy of Hawkins' *Emblems of Mortality*, London, 1789, "Sternhold and Hopkin's verses;"* and if a loftier style be attempted, superior to that of those renowned authors in their old Psalms, it will scarcely be possible to abide by the actual meaning and spirit of the original. For these reasons I have not attempted to represent the French rhymes by English rhymes, but simply to give a version almost literal, aiming at a measured cadence rather than at the recurrence of the same sounds at the ends of alternate lines.

And so in the translation of the prose essays or meditations at the beginning and end of the *Figures of Death*, our purpose has been to keep as close as may be to the turns of expression and peculiarities in style of the original, and yet by adopting a little of the modern structure of sentences to bring out a clear meaning. The curious methods of pointing the clauses of a period, and of putting the thoughts together, have sometimes occasioned difficulties; but we have endeavoured to make the English a true exponent of the French.

* The Italian version, in *Simolachri, &c., de la Morte*, Lyons, 1549, is much more successful. But the genius of that language, in a far higher degree than our own, is capable of transferring poetic thoughts into the poetic form without marring either the beauty or the simplicity of the original.



The translation of the prose portion of the work will be found to correspond very nearly page for page with the French text of 1538.

The original Death-Figures being already accompanied by Latin and French explanations, we have added to the English translation of them a German version, which, without being literal, very sufficiently conveys the meaning of the several subjects. This German version is taken from Michael Rentz's "*Erinnerungen des Todes und der Ewigkeit*," *Remembrances of Death and Eternity*, folio, Linz, 1779, plates 52.

According to Langlois, *Essai*, vol. i. p. 229, a *Dance of Death* had been executed at the end of the seventeenth century, by the care of the Brothers of Mercy, and at the expense of Count Antony von Spork, in the gallery of a hospital at Kuckucksbad, in Bohemia,—“elle commençait par le Pape et finissait par le Mendiant.” It is added: “Elle fut reproduite avec soin, avec quelques sujets d’Holbein en cinquante-deux planches, par Michel Rentz, et ornée de vers allemands par Patricius, dans l’ouvrage intitulé: *Der Sogenannte-Todentanz*, Wien., 1767.”

After all, with much diffidence, we take our stand before the tribunals of public criticism. We doubtless have faults to be condoned,—we are conscious of no wilful perversities to be chastised.

Les fimulachres &
HISTORIEES FACES
DE LA MORT, AVTANT ELE
gammët pourtraictes, que artifi-
ciellement imaginées.





Les fimulachres &

HISTORIEES FACES

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A LYON,
Soubz l'escu de COLOIGNE.

M. D. XXXVIII.





A MOVL T REVERENDE

Abbeſſe du religieux conuent S. Pierre
de Lyon, Madame Iehannde de
Touſzele, Salut dun
vray Zele.

I'Ay bon eſpoir, Madame & mere treſreligieuſe,
que de ces eſpouentables ſimulachres de Mort,
aurez moins d'eſbahiffement que viuãte. Et que
ne prẽdrez a mauuais augure, ſi a vous, plus que
a nulle aultre, ſont dirigez. Car de tous temps par mortifica-
tion, & auſteritẽ de vie, en tant de diuers cloiſtres tranſmuẽe,
par autoritẽ Royale, eſtant là l'exemplaire de religieuſe reli-
gion, & de reformẽe reformation, auez eu avec la Mort telle
habitude, qu'en ſa meſme foſſe & ſepulchrale dormition ne
vous ſcauroit plus eſtroictẽmẽt encloſſer, qu'en la ſepulture
du cloiſtre, en laq̃lle n'auez ſeulement enſepuely le corps: mais
cueur & eſprit quãd & quãd, voire d'une ſi liberale, & centiere
deuotion qu'ilz n'en veullẽt iamais ſortir, fors cõ ſainct Pol
pour aller a I E S V S C H R I S T. Leq̃l bon I E S V S non
ſans diuine prouidẽce vous a baptiſee de nom & ſurnom au
mien vnifonantẽmẽt cõſonant, exceptẽ en la ſeule letre de T,
lettre par fatal ſecret capitale de voſtre ſurnom: pour autãt q̃
c'eſt ce caractere de Thau, tant celebrẽ vers les Hebreux, &
vers les Latins pris a triſte mort, Auſſi par ſainct Hieroſme
appellẽ letre de croix & de ſalut: merueilleuſemẽt cõuenãt aux
ſalutaires croix ſupportees de tous voz zeles en ſaincte reli-
gion. Leſq̃lz zeles la Mort n'a oſẽ approcher, q̃lq̃s viſitatiõs

A ñ

EPISTRE DES FACES

que Dieu vous ayt faictes par quasi continuelles maladies, pour non contreuenir a ce fourrier Ezechiel, qui vous auoit marquee de son Thau, signe deffenfable de toute mauuaise Mort. qui me faict croire que ferez de ceulx, desquelz est escript, qu'ilz ne gousteront sa mortifere amertume. Et que tant s'en fault que ne reiectez ces funebres histoires de mōdaine mortalite comme mauuades & melancoliques, que mesme admonestee de saint Iaques cōsidererez le visaige de vostre natiuité en ces mortelz miroers, desquelz les moi telz sont denōmez cōme tous subiectz a la Mort, & a tāt de miserables miseres, en sorte que desplaisant a vous mesmes, estu dierez de cōplaire a Dieu, iouxte la figure racōptee en Exode, disant, que a l'entrée du Tabernacle auoit vne ordōnance de miroers, affin q̄ les entrans se peussent en iceulx cōtempler: & aujourd'huy sont telz spirituelz miroers mis a l'etrée des Eglises, & Cymitieres iadis par Diogenes reuulsitez, pour veoir si entre ces ossemens des mortz pourroit trouuer aucune difference des riches, & des pouures. Et si aussi les Payens pour se refrener de mal faire aux entrées de leurs maisons ordōnoient fosses, & tumbeaux en memoire de la mortalité a tous preparée, doiuent les Chrestiens auoir horreur d'y penser: Les images de Mort serōt elles a leurs yeulx tāt effrayeuses, qu'ilz ne les veulent veoir n'en ouyr parler: C'est le vray, & propre miroer auquel on doit corriger les defformitez de peché, & embellir l'Ame. Car, cōme saint Gregoire dit, qui cōsidere cōment il sera a la Mort, deuiēdra craintif en toutes ses operatiōs, & quasi ne se osera mōstrer a ses propres yeulx: & se cōsidere pour ia mort, qui ne se ignore deuoir mourir. Pource la parfaicte vie est l'imitation de la Mort, laq̄lle sollicitueusemēt paracheuée des iustes, les cōduict a salut. Par ainsi

DE LA MORT.

a tous fideles serōt ces spectacles de Mort en lieu du Serpent d'arain, lequel aduise guerissoit les Israelites des morsures ser-
pentines moins venimeuses, que les esguillons des concu-
piscenses, desquelles sommes continuellement assailliz. Icy
dira vng curieux questionnaire: Quelle figure de Mort peult
estre par viuant representee? Ou, cōment en peuent deuiser
ceux, qui oncques les inexorables forces n'experimenterent?
Il est bien vray que l'inuisible ne se peult par chose visible
proprement representer; Mais tout ainsi que par les choses
crées & visibles, comme est dit en l'epistre aux Rōmains, on
peult veoir & contempler l'inuisible Dieu & increé. Pareille-
mēt par les choses, esquelles la Mort a faict irreuocables pas-
saiges, c'est ascauoir par les corps es sepulchres cadauerisez
& descharnez sus leurs monumētz, on peult extraire qlques
simulachres de Mort (simulachres les dis ie vrayement, pour
ce que simulachre viēt de simuler, & faindre ce q̄ n'est point.)
Et pourtant qu'on n'a peu trouuer chose plus approchante
a la similitude de Mort, que la personne morte, on a d'icelle
effigié simulachres, & faces de Mort, pour en noz pēses im-
primer la memoire de Mort plus au vis, que ne pourroient
toutes les rhetoriques descriptiōs des orateurs. A ceste cause
l'ancienne philosophie estoit en simulachres, & images effi-
giees. Et q̄ biē le cōsiderera, toutes les hystoires de la Bible ne
sont q̄ figures a nre plus tenace istructiō. I E S V S C H R I S T
mesme ne figuroit il sa doctrine en paraboles, & similitudes,
pour mieulx l'imprimer a ceulx auquelz il la preschoit? Et
noz sainctz Peres, n'ont ilz par deuotes hystoires figure la
plus part de la Bible, encores apparoiſſantes en plusieurs
eghises, cōme encor on les voit au Choeur de ceste tant vene-
rable Eglise de Lyō: vrayemēt en celà, & en aultres antiques

EPISTRE DES FACES

ceremonies admirablement constante obseruatrice, autour duquel les images la elegâtemēt en reliefz ordonnées, seruēt aux illiteréz de trefutile, & cōtēplatiue literature. Que voulut Dieu, quoy qu'en debatēt ces furieux Iconomachiēs, q̄ de telles ou semblables images fussent tapisées toutes noz Eglises, mais q̄ noz yeulx ne se delectassent a aultres plus pernicieux spectacles. Donc retournār a noz figurees faces de Mort, trefgrâdemēt viēt a regretter la mort de celluy, qui nous en a icy imaginé si elegâtes figures, auancantes autāt toutes les patronées iusques icy, cōme les painctures de Apelles, ou de Zeuxis surmōtēt les modernes. Car ses histoires funebres, auec leurs descriptiōs seueremēt rithmées, aux aduisans dōnent telle admiratiō, qu'ilz en iugēt les mortz y apparoisire trefuiuemēt, & les vifz trefmortement representer. Qui me faict penser, que la Mort craignant que ce excellent painctre ne la paignist tant vifue, qu'elle ne fut plus crainte pour Mort, & que pour celā luy mesme n'en deuint immortel, que a ceste cause elle luy accelera si fort ses iours, qu'il ne peult paracheuer plusieurs aultres figures iā par luy traisées: Mesme celle du charretier froissé, & espaultri soubz son ruyné charriot, Les roes, & Cheuaux duquel sont là si espouventablement trebuchez, qu'il y a autāt d'horreur a veoir leur precipitation, que de grace a contempler la friandise d'une Mort, qui furtiuemēt luccé auec vng chalumeau le vin du tōneau effondré. Aufquelles imparfaictes histoires comme a l'inimitable arc celeste appellé Iris, nul n'a ose imposer l'extreme main, par les audacieux craictz, perspectiues, & vmbraiges en ce chef d'oeuure comprises, & là tant gracieusement deliniées, lon y peut prendre vne delectable tristesse, & vne triste delectation, comme en chose tristement ioyeuse. Cessent hardi

DE LA MORT.

ment les antiquaillieurs, & amateurs des anciennes images de chercher plus antique antiquité, que la pourtraicture de ces Mortz. Car en icelle voirront l'Imperatrice sur tous viuans inuictissime des le cōmencement du monde regnante. C'est celle que a triumphe de tous les Cefars, Empereurs, & Roys. C'est vrayement l'Herculée fortitude qui, non avec massue, mais d'une faulx, a fauche, & extirpe tous les monstrueux, & Tyrâniques couraiges de la Terre. Les regardées Gorgones, ne la teste de Meduse ne feirent oncques si estrâges Metamorphoses, ne si diuerses trāsformatiōs, que peult faire l'intētiue cōtemplation de ces faces de mortalité. Or si Seuerer Empereur Romain tenoit en son cabinet, tesmoing Lampridius, les images de Virgile, de Cicero, d'Achilles, & du grand Alexandre, pour a icelles se inciter a vertu, le ne voy point pour quoy nous deuons abhominier celles, par lesquelles on est refrene de pecher, & stimule a toutes bōnes operatiōs. Dont le petit, mais nul pēsēmēt, qu'on met aujourd'huy a la Mort, me faict desirer vng aultre Hegeſias, non pour nous inciter, cōme il faisoit en preschāt les biens de la Mort, a mettre en nous noz violētes mains, mais pour mieulx desirer de paruenir a celle immortalité, pour laq̃lle ce desperé Cleobronte, se precipita en la Mer; puis q̃ sommes trop plus asseurez de celle beatitude a nous, & non aux Payens, & incredules, promise. A laquelle, puis que n'y pouons paruenir, que passant par la Mort, ne deuons nous embrasser, aymer, contempler la figure & representatiō de celle, par laquelle on va de peine a repoz, de Mort a vie eternelle, & de ce monde fallacieux a Dieu veritable, & infallible qui nous a formez a sa semblāce, affin que si ne nous difformons le puissions contempler face a face quand il luy plaira nous faire passer par celle Mort, qui

EPI. DES FA. DE LA MORT.

est aux iustes la plus precieuse chose qu'il eut sceu donner. Parquoy, Madame, prédrez en bõne part ce triste, mais salubre present; & persuaderez a voz deuotes religieuses le tenir non seulement en leurs petites cellules, ou dortouers, mais au cabinet de leur memoire, ainsi que le cõseille saint Hierosme en vne epistre, disant: Constitue deuant tes yeulx celle image de Mort au iour de laquelle le iuste ne craindra mal, & pour celà ne le craindra il, car il n'entendra, Va au feu eternel: mais viens benist de mon Pere, recoys le royaume a toy preparé des la creation du mōde. Parquoy qui fort sera, contemne la Mort, & l'imbecille, la fuye; Mais nul peult fuyr la Mort, fors celluy, qui fuyt la vie. Nostre vie est I E S V S C H R I S T, & est la vie qui ne scait mourir. Car il a triūphé de la Mort, pour nous en faire triūphier eternellement. Amen.

Diuerſes Tables de MORT, NON PAINCTES, mais extraictes de l'eſcripture ſaincte, colorées par Docteurs Eccle ſiaſtiques, & vmbra gées par Philo ſophes.



O V R Chreſtiennement parler de la Mort, ie ne ſcauroys vers qui m'en mieulx interroguer, qu'enuers celluy bon S. P O L, qui par tant de Mortz eſt paruenue a la fin en la gloire de celluy, qui tant glorieuſemēt triumphant de la Mort, diſoit: O Mort, ie ſeray ta Mort. Parquoy a ce, que ce intrepidable Cheualier de la Mort dict en l'epiſtre aux Theſſaloniques. Le treuve que là il appelle le mourir vng dormir, & la Mort vng ſommeil. Et certes mieulx ne la pouuoit il effigier, que de l'accomparrer au dormir. Car comme le ſommeil ne eſtinct l'homme, mais detiēt le corps en repoz pour vng temps, ainſi la Mort ne perd l'hōme, mais priue ſon corps de ſes mouuementz, & operatiōs. Et cōme les membres endormiz de rechef excitez ſe meuuent, viuent, & oeurent: ainſi noz corps par la puiſſance de Dieu reſuſcitez viuent eternellemēt. Nul, certes, ſ'en

B

D I V E R S E S T A B L E S

và dormir pour perpetuellement demeurer couché là ou il dort. Aussi nul n'est ensepueley pour tousiours au sepulchre demeurer. Et tout ainsi que le sommeil à l'Empire & domination au corps, & non en l'ame, car le corps dormant elle veille, se meut, & oeuvre: Ainsi est immortelle l'ame de l'homme, & le corps seulement subiect a la Mort. Et n'est la Mort aultre chose, que vne separation, que fait l'ame du corps. Doncq's l'ame est la vie, & l'esprit immortel du corps: laquelle en se separant laisse le corps comme endormy, qui se reueillera quād il plaira a celluy, qui à seigneurie sus l'ame, & le corps. Et ne s'en doibt on par trop douloir de ceste Chrestienne dormition, non plus, qu'on ne se deult quād quelcun de noz chers amys s'en va dormir, esperantz qu'il se reueillera quand il aura asses dormy. Parainsi ne se fault contrister quand quelcun se meurt: Puy's que n'est aultre chose, cōme dict saint Pol, que dormir. Parquoy a ce propos disoit vng poete Payen: Qu'est ce q̄ du sommeil, fors que l'image d'une froide Mort. Mais pour d'icelle Mort raisonner selon naturelle philosophie. Toute la vie que l'homme vit en ce mōde, des sa naissance, iusques a sa mort, est vng engroissement de nature. En telle sorte que l'homme naissant du ventre de sa merē, il entre au ventre de naturalité. Et icelluy mourant est de rechief enfanté par naturalité, sus lesquelz propos est contenue toute humaine philosophie. Parquoy laissant a part les erreurs des Philosophes affirmātes l'esprit de l'hōme estre mortel: suyurons ceulx qui par meilleure opinion, disent l'hōme auoir deux cōceptiōs, & deux vies sans aucune mort. Or pour declarer ceste non petite Philosophie, digne certes d'estre mise en memoire, fault entendre, que l'homme conceu au ventre maternel, y croist & là se maintient de sa propre

DE LA MORT.

Mere, de laquelle il prend sa totale substance & nourriture, qui est cause que les Meres ayment plus tendremēt les enfans que les Peres. Apres en naissant, naturalitē le receoit en son ventre, qui est ce monde, qui puis le nourrist & le maintient de ses alimentz & fruiētz tout le temps qu'il le tient en son ventre mondain. Et cōme la Mere, par l'espace de neuf moys ne tache que a nourrir & p̄duire son fruct pour l'enfanter, & le remettre a la charge de naturalitē en ceste vie mōdaine: Pareillement naturalitē durant le temps qu'il demeure en son ventre mōdain ne tache que a le subſtāter & bien entretenir pour le produire a maturitē, & le faire renaistre quand il meurt à vie meilleure & plus permanente. Doncques au premier naistre, l'homme se d'ēſue de celle toille, en laquelle il naquit enuelopē. Au ſecond se despouille du corps: affin que l'ame ſorte de priſon, en ſorte q̄ ce qu'on appelle Mort, n'est que vng enfantement pour meilleure vie, car toutes ſes naiſſances vont touſiours en meilleurāt. La premiere groiſſe dure neuf moys. La ſeconde communement cent ans. Et la tierce eſt euernele, pource que du vêtre de naturalitē paſſans a la diuinitē, ſommes maintenuz de l'eternelle fruition qui rend noſtre vie eternelle. En la Mere nous eſtans humains noſtre manger eſtoit humain. Au monde viuans de mōdanitē ſommes mondains & tranſitoires: mais en Dieu ſerons diuins, pource que noſtre maintenant ſera de diuine fruition. Et tout ainſi que la creature au vêtre de ſa Mere, paſſe pluſieurs dangiers, perilz, & incōueniens, ſi les meres ne ſont bien contregardēes & gouuernēes par les ſaiges femmes, par la deffaulte deſq̄lles a l'enfanter ſouuent aduient que la creature naiſt morte, ou abortiue, ou meurtrie, ou aſſollēe, ou avec quelques aultres deffaulx naturelz, qui puis durēt toute

D I V E R S E S T A B L E S

la vie de la creature, ainsi mal releuée, ainsi non moindres deffaulx & perilz, mais trop plus pernicious sont en la secōde grosse. Car si durāt le temps que nous viuons en naturalité, ne viuons bien selon Dieu & raison, en lieu d'enfanter mourons, & en lieu de naistre sommes aneantiz, pour autant que alors l'Ame par ces deffaulx, ne pouuāt entrer ne venir en la lumiere de la diuinité, est engloutie d'ans l'Abisme infernal trespertifere. Et tout ainsi que par le deffault des saiges personnes qui saigemēt doibuent releuer & adresser les enfans mens plusieurs creatures meurent au sortir du ventre maternel. Ainsi par faulte de bons enseigneurs & parrains en ce poinct & article que nous appellons Mort, que i'appelle icy naissance, plusieurs se perdent. Doncques si pour le premier enfantement, on est tant soucieux de trouuer les plus dextres & expertes saiges femmes que l'on saiche: Pour le second, qui est la Mort, ne se doit on trop plus trauailler, pour le recouurement des saiges & saintes personnes, qui bien scaient adresser, & conduire a bon port, le fruit de ceste seconde naissance qui va de ceste vie en l'autre, affin que la creature y peruienne sans monstruosité, ou laideur difforme de peché, pour autant que l'erreur de ce second enfantement est a iamais incorrigible & inemendable, & non le premier qui souuent est corrigé & racoustré en ce mode, auq̃l les deffaulx naturelz sont q̃lque fois pour medicines, ou aultre moyen aydez & secourus. Et pource que a chose de si grāde importance, il me semble que c'est vng grād auenglissement, d'en estre tant negligens comme lon est, & si mal aduisez. Si quelcun veult nauiguer sus mer, cest chose merueilleuse de veoir les grans appareilz de victuailles & d'autres choses necessaires q̃ lon fait. Les gēsdarmes & soudars, q̃lle prouision sont ilz, pour

DE LA MORT.

soy bien equipper. Avec quelle sollicitude vâ le marchand es foires & marchez. Quel trauail & cōtinuel labour obmeēt le laboureur, pour recueillir fruit de son agriculture. Quelle peine mettent les vngz a bien seruir, & les aultres a imperieusement cōmander. Est il riens qu'on ne face pour entretenir nostre santé corporelle. Certes tout ce que touche ou appartient au corps, nous le nous procurons avec vng soucieux esmoy; mais de la chetifue Ame, n'auōs cure ne soucy. Nous scauons treshien que vng iour elle doit naistre, & que au sortir de ce ventre du corps n'auons pensé a luy apprestre draps ne linge, pour l'enueloper, qui sont les bōnes oeuvres sans lesquelles on ne nous laisse au geron du Ciel entrer. Les bonnes oeuvres certes sont les riches vestemens & dorez, desquelz Dauid veult estre reuestue la spirituelle espouse. Ce sont les robes desq̃lles sainct Pol desire que soyons reuestuz, affin que cheminons honnestemēt. Veillons donc & faisons cōme la bōne Mere, que auant que venir au terme d'enfanter faict les preparatiues & appareilz de son enfanton. Cest appareil est la doctrine de biē mourir, que icy est appellée bien naistre. Appareillons nous donc vne chemise blanche d'innocence, Vng linge tainct de rouge, d'ardente charité. Vng cierge de cire, en blanche chasteté. Vne coiffe d'esperance. Vne cotte de foy, bādée de vertuz, pour nous emmailloter. Vng corail de faigesse, pour nous resiouyr le cuer. Et pour ce que la diuinité doit alors estre nostre Mere nourrisse, & nous doit alaieter de ses trespoulces mammelles de science, & d'amour, nettoions nous premierement, des ordures & mauix pris de nature, qui est le peché, le viel Adam, l'inclination de la chair, la rebellion cōtre l'esperit. Lauons nous avec l'hermes, comme les enfanteletz qui pleurent en naissant. San



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atifions nous avec le Baptefme de penitēce, qui eſt le Baptē-
 me du ſainct eſprit. Et ſi durāt toute noſtre vie en ce monde
 nous faiſons vng tel appareil, quād ce viendra a l'enſanternēt
 de la Mort, nous naiſtrons, cōme naiſqutrent les Sainctz, la
 Mort deſquelz appellons naiſſance, car alors commencerent
 ilz a viure. Et pource que ces appareilz, & prouiſiōs ne ſont
 faiçtēs q̄ de biē peu de gens, tant ſommes en celā negligēs, &
 n'à on ſoucy de pouuoir auoir pour le moins vng linceul ou
 ſuaire, pour au iour de la Mort y pouuoir eſtre enuclopē, ne
 d'eſtre reueſtu d'aulcunes robes quand l'ame ſe deſpouillera
 du corps, il me ſemble que ceſte tant ſotte nōchaillāce doit
 eſtre grandement accuſee deuant Dieu & deuant les hōmes:
 avec le linceul ou ſuaire ou eſt enſepuey en terre le corps,
 affin que là tout ſoit mangē des vers. Et avec les robes de
 l'ame, ſi elles ſont de bonnes oeuvres tyſſues, on entre en la
 gloire ſans fin pardurable, & de celā, l'erreur, on n'à ſoing ne
 cure. A ceſte cauſe pour inciter les viuans a faire prouiſion
 de telles robes & veſtemens, n'ay ſceu trouuer moyen plus
 excitatif, que de mettre en lumiere ces facēs de Mort, pour
 obuier qu'il ne ſoit dit a noz ames, Comment eſtes vous icy
 venues, n'ayant la robe nuptialle: Mais ou trouuera on ces
 veſtemens: Certes a ceulx & a celles qui pour ne ſcauoir lire
 pourroient demeurer nudz, n'ayans la clef pour ouurir les
 theſors des ſainctes eſcriptures, & des bons Peres, ſont preſen-
 tēs ces tristes hiſtoires, leſquelles les aduiſeront d'emprunter
 habitz de ceulx, qui es coffres des liures, en ont a habōdance.
 Et ceſt emprunt ne ſera autant louable, a celluy qui l'emprun-
 tera, que prouffitable au preſteur, & n'eſt ſi riche qui n'aye
 indigence de telz veſtemens. Teſmoing ce qu'eſt eſcript en
 l'Apocalypſe au troiſieſme chapitre. Preparons nous donc

DE LA MORT.

(dit saint Bernard en vng sien sermō) & nous hastōs d'aller
au lieu plus seur, au champ plus fertile, au repas plus sauou-
reux, affin que nous habitons sans crainte, q̄ nous habondiōs
sans deffaulte, & sans facherie soyons repeuz. Auquel lieu la
Mort nous cōduira, quand celluy qui la vaincue la vouldra
en nous faire mourir. Auquel soit gloire & honneur eternel-
lement. Amen.

Formauit DOMINVS DEVS hominem de limo
terræ, ad imaginē suam creauit illum, masculum & feminam
nam creauit eos.

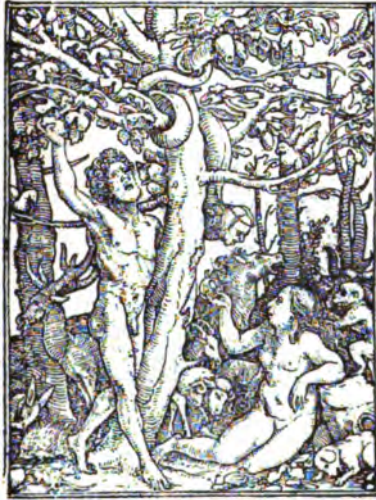
GENESIS I. & II.



DIEU, Ciel, Mer, Terre, procrea
De rien demonstrent sa puissance
Et puis de la terre crea
L'homme, & la femme a sa semblance.

Quia audisti vocem vxoris tuæ, & comedisti
de ligno ex quo preceperam tibi ne comes-
deres &c.

GENESIS III



A D A M fut par E V E deceu
Et contre D I E V mangea la pomme,
Dont tous deux ont la Mort reccu,
Et depuis fut mortel tout homme.
C

Emisit cum D O M I N U S D E V S de Para
diso voluptatis, vt operaretur terram de qua
sumptus est.

G E N E S I S I I I



D I E V chassa l'homme de plaisir
Pour viure au labeur de ses mains:
Alors la Mort le vint saisir,
Et consequemment tous humains.

Maledicta terra in opere tuo, in laboribus comedet cunctis diebus vitæ tuæ, donec reuertaris &c.

GENESIS III



**Mauldicte en ton labeur la terre.
En labeur ta'vie uferas,
Iusques que la Mort te soubterre.
Toy pouldre en pouldre tourneras.**

C ij



Væ væ væ habitantibus in terra.

APOCALYPSIS VIII

Cuncta in quibus spiraculum vitæ est, mortua sunt.

GENESIS VII



Malheureux qui uiuez au monde
Tousiours remplis d'aduersitez,
Pour quelque bien qui vous abonde,
Serez tous de Mort uisitez.



Moriatur sacerdos magnus.

I O S V B X X

Et episcopatum eius accipiat alter.

P S A L M I S T A C V I I I



Qui te cuydes immortal estre
Par Mort seras tost depesché,
Et combien que tu soys grand prebstre,
Vng aultre aura ton Euesché.

C iij



Dispone domui tuæ,morieris enim tu,& non viues.

I S A I Æ X X X V I I I

Ibi morieris,& ibi erit currus gloriæ tuæ.

I S A I Æ X X I I



De ta maison disposeras
Comme de ton bien transitoire,
Car la ou mort reposeras,
Seront les chariotz de ta gloire.



Sicut & rex hodie est, & cras morietur, nemo enim ex regibus aliud habuit.

ECCLESIASTICI X



**Ainsi qu'aujourdhuy il est Roy,
Demain sera en tombe close.
Car Roy aulcun de son arroy
N'a sceu emporter aultre chose.**



Væ qui iustificatis impium pro mu-
neribus,& iusticiam iusti aufertis
ab eo.

ESAIE V



Mal pour uous qui iustifiez
L'inhumain,& plain de malice,
Et par dons le sanctifiez,
Ostant au iuste sa iustice.



Gradients in superbia
potest Deus humiliare.

DANIEL IIII



Qui marchez en pompe superbe
La Mort vng iour uous plicra.
Cōme soubz uoz piedz ployez l'herbe,
Ainsi uous humiliera.

D



**Mulieres opulentæ surgite, & audite vocem
meam. Post dies, & annum, & vos contur-
bimini.**

I S A I Æ X X X I I



**Leuez uous dames opulentes.
Ouyez la uoix des trespassez.
Après maintz ans & iours passez,
Serez troublées & doulentes.**



**Pecutiam pastorem, & dispergent
oues.**

XXVI MAR. XIII



**Le pasteur aussi frapperay
Mitres & crosse renuersées.
Et lors quand ie l'attrapperay,
Seront les brebis dispersées.**

D. 5

Princeps iuduetur mocrare.Et
quiescere faciam superbiã po
tentium.

E Z E C H I E. VII



Vien, prince, avec moy, & delaisse
Honneurs mondains tost finissantz.
Seule suis qui, certes, abaisse
L'orgueil & pompe des puissantz.

**Ipse morietur. Quia nō habuit disci-
plinam, & in multitudine stultitiæ
suæ decipietur.**

PROVER. V



**Il mourra, Car il n'a receu
En soy aulcune discipline,
Et au nombre sera deceu
De folie qui le domine.**

D iij

Laudaui magis mortuos quam
viuentes.

ECCLE. II II



J'ay tousiours les mortz plus loué
Que les uifz, esquelz mal abonde,
Toutesfoys la Mort ma noué
Au ranc de ceulx qui sont au monde.

Quis est homo qui uiuet, & non uidebit
mortem, eruet animā suam de manu
inferi?

PSAL. LXXXVIII



Qui est celluy, tant soit grand homme,
Qui puisse uiure sans mourir?
Et de la Mort, qui tout assomme,
Puisse son Ame recourir?

Ecce appropinquat ho-
ra.

M A T. X X V I



Tu uas au choeur dire tes heures
Priant Dieu pour toy, & ton proche.
Mais il fault ores que tu meures.
Voy tu pas l'heure qui approche?



Disperdam iudicem de medio
eius.

A M O S I I



Du mylieu d'eulx uous osteray
Iuges corrupus par presentz.
Point ne serez de Mort exemptz.
Car ailleurs uous transporteray.

E

Callidus vidit malum, & abscondit se
innocens, pertranſijt, & afflictuſ eſt
damno.

PROVER. XXII



L'homme cault a ueu la malice
Pour l'innocent faire obliger,
Et puis par uoye de iustice
Est uenu le pauvre affliger.

Qui obturat aurem suam ad clamorem
pauperis, & ipse clamabit, & non exau-
diatur.

PROVER. XXI



Les riches conseillez tousiours,
Et aux patures clouez l'oreille.
Vous crierez aux derniers iours,
Mais Dieu uous fera la pareille.

E ij



**Væ qui dicitis malum bonum,& bonum malū,
ponentes tenebras lucem,& lucem tenebras,
ponentes amarum dulce,& dulce in amarum.**

I S A I Æ X V



**Mal pour uous qui ainsi osez
Le mal pour le bien nous blasmer,
Et le bien pour mal exposez,
Mettant avec le doux l'amer.**

Sum quidem & ego mortalis
homo.

SAP. VII



Je porte le saint sacrement
Cuidant le mourant secourir,
Qui mortel suis pareillement.
Et comme luy me fault mourir.

E 14

Sedentes in tenebris, & in vmbra
mortis, victos in mendicite.
citare.

PSAL. CVI



Toy qui n'as soucy, ny remord
Sinon de ta mendicité,
Tu sierras a l'ombre de Mort
Pour t'ouster de neccessité.



**Est via quæ videtur homini iusta: nouissi-
ma autem eius deducunt hominem ad
mortem.**

P R O V E R . I I I I



**Telle uoye aux humains est bonne,
Et a l'homme tresiuste semble.
Mais la fin d'elle a l'homme donne,
La Mort, qui tous pecheurs assemble,**

**Melior est mors quam
vita.**

B C C L E. X X X



**En peine ay uestu longuement
Tant que nay plus de uiure enuie,
Mais bien ie croy certainement,
Meilleure la Mort que la uie.**



Medice, cura te
ipsum.

LVCE IIII



Tu congnoys bien la maladie
Pour le patient secourir,
Et si ne scais teste estourdie,
Le mal dont tu deburas mourir.

F



**Indica mihi si nosti omnia. Sciebas quodd
nasciturus esses , & numerum dierum
tuorum noueras?**

I O B X X V I I I



**Tu dis par Amphibologie
Ce qu'aux aultres doit aduenir.
Dy moy donc par Astrologie
Quand tu deburas a moy uenir?**



Stulte hac nocte repetunt ani-
mam tuam, & quæ parasti
cuius erunt?

L V C Æ X I I



Ceste nuit la Mort te prendra,
Et demain seras enchassé.
Mais dy moy, fol, a qui uiendra
Le bien que tu as amassé?

F ij

Qui congregat thesauros mendacij vanus
& excors est, & impingetur ad laqueos
mortis.

PROVER. XXI



Vain est cil qui amassera
Grandz biens, & trefors pour mentir, .
La Mort l'en fera repentir.
Car en ses lacz surpris sera.

Qui volunt diuites fieri incidunt in laqueum
diaboli, & desideria multa, & nociua, quæ
mergunt homines in interitum.

I A D T I M O. V I



Pour acquerir des biens mondains
Vous entrez en tentation,
Qui uous met es perilz soubdains,
Et uous maine a perdition.

F iij

Subito morientur, & in media nocte turbas
buntur populi, & auferent violentum
absq; manu.

I O B X X X I I I I



Peuples soudain s'esleueront
A lencontre de l'inhumain,
Et le uiolent osteront
D'avec eulx sans force de main:



Quoniam cūm interierit non sumet se
cum omnia, neq; cūm eo descēdet glo
ria eius.

PSAL. XLVIII



Auec foy rien n'emportera,
Mais qu'une foy la Mort le tombe,
Rien de sa gloire n'ostera,
Pour mettre auec foy en sa tombe.

Spiritus meus attenuabitur, dies mei breuiabuntur, & solum mihi superest sepulchrum.

I O B X V I I



**Mes esperitz sont attendriz,
Et ma uie s'en ua tout beau.
Las mes longz iours sont amoindriz,
Plus ne me reste qu'un tombeau.**

Ducunt in bonis dies suos, &
in puncto ad inferna des-
cendunt.

I O B X X I



En biens mōdains leurs iours despendēt
En uoluptez, & en tristesse,
Puis soubdain aux Enfers descendent,
Ou leur ioye passe en tristesse,

G

Me & te sola mors sepa-
rabit.

R V T H. I



Amour qui unyz nous faict uivre,
En foy noz cueurs preparera,
Qui long temps ne nous pourra suyure,
Car la Mort nous separera.

De lectulo super quem ascendis
sti non descendes, sed morte
morieis.

IIII REG. I



Du liēt sus le quel as monté
Ne descendras a ton plaisir.
Car Mort t'aura tantost dompté,
Et en brief te uiendra saisir.

G ij



**Venite ad me qui onerati
estis.**

MATTH. XI



**Venez,& apres moy marchez
Vous qui estes par trop chargez
C'est assez fuiuy les marchez:
Vous serez par moy dechargez**

In sudore vultus tui vesceris pane
tuo.

GENE. I



A la sueur de ton uisaige
Tu gaigneras ta pauvre uie.
Après long trauail, & uisaige,
Voicy la Mort qui te conuie.

G iiij

Homo natus de muliere, breui viuens tempore
 repletur multis miserijs, qui quali flos egre-
 ditur, & conteritur, & fugit velut vmbra.

I O B X I I I I



Tout homme de la femme yssant
 Remply de misere, & d'encombre,
 Ainsi que fleur tost finissant.
 Sort & puis fuyt comme faiët l'umbre.



Omnes stabimus ante tribunal domini.
 R O M A. X I I I I
 Vigilate, & orate, quia nescitis qua hora
 venturus sit dominus.
 M A T. X X I I I I



Deuant le trosne du grand iuge
 Chascun de soy compte rendra,
 Pourtant ueillez, qu'il ne uous iuge.
 Car ne scauez quand il uiendra.



Memorare nouissima, &
in æternum non peccabis.

ECCLH. VII



Si tu ueulx uiure sans peché
Voy ceste imaige a tous propos,
Et point ne feras empesché,
Quand tu t'en iras a repos.

FIGURES DE LA MORT

moralement descriptes, & depeinctes
selon l'autorité de l'scriptu
re, & des saintz Pe
res.

Chapitre premier de la premiere figurée face de Mort.



Vi est ce, qui a laissé la Pierre angulaire
dist Iob. Sus lesq̄lles parolles fault noter ^{Iob. 38.}
que la pierre est dictée en Latin lapis, qui
selon son ethimologie, vient de lesion
de pied. Car aux cheminās quelque foyz
se rencontrent les pierres, & par l'offens
dicule q̄lles font aux piedz, souuent font
trebucher les gens. Qui nous figure la

Mort, qui ainsi a l'improheu les cheminās tant plus rudemēt
frappe, & prosterne, d'autāt qu'elle les trouue plus asseurez,
& non aduisez. Or la pierre angulaire est faicte en sorte, que
en quelque sorte qu'elle tombe, elle demeure droicte, a cause
de son equalité. Aussi la Mort pareillemēt esgallēmēt tom
bante, esgalle aussi toutes puillances, richesses, haultainetez,
& delices en vng coup les desrompant. Et n'est qui puisse a
son impetuosite resister. Comme il est figuré par Daniel là, ^{Daniel 2.}
ou il veit la statue de Nabuchodonosor. Le chef de laquelle
estoit dor, les bras & la poitrine d'argent, le corps ou le vêtre
darain, les cuylles de fer, & auoit les piedz faictz seulement
de fange. S'esuyt apres. Il ya vne pierre de la mōtaigne taillée

H

DES HVICT FIGVRES

sans mains, & frappée la statue par les piedz fut brisée, & reduite en cendres. Qui n'est aultre chose, que la figure d'ung grand riche homme ayant la teste dor par la noblesse de son sang, & lignaige. Les bras, & poictrine d'argent par la grāde richesse, quil a acquisē par soucy & trauail. Le corps, & le vêtre, qui est d'arain, s'entend le renom qu'il a, Car l'arain est sonoreux. Par les cuysses de fer est denotēe la puissance, & force qu'il a. Mais le pied de terre, & de fange, nous signifie sa mortalité. La pierre est taillee de la montaigne de diuine iustice. Est ascauoir humaine Mort, laquelle n'est fabriquēe de la main de Dieu. Car Dieu n'a fait la Mort, & ne se delecte en la perdition des viuans; mais ce sont noz miserables premiers parentz, qui luy ont donnē celle force. Laquelle frappant a l'improueu les hommes, rend tous trebuchant. Car son impetuosité est tant incertaine en sa maniere de faire, & en quel lieu, & en quel tēps elle doit aduenir, que humaine prudēce est insuffisante d'y pouuoir obuier. Parquoy saint

*Augu. in
sillo. 3.*

Augustin disoit. Celle opportune Mort en mille sortes tous les iours raut les hommes. Car elle opprime cestuy par siebure, & cest aultre par douleurs. Cestuy est consumē par famine. Laultre estainct par soif. La Mort suffoque l'un en eaue. Laultre elle destruit en flammes. Elle occist l'un au Gibet. Laultre par les dentz des bestes sauluaiges. Laultre par fer, & laultre par venin. Par ainsi la Mort par tous moyens contrainct l'humaine vie finir miserablement. Et sur toutes les miseres cest chose miserabilissime de ne veoir riens plus certain, que la Mort, & riens plus incertain, que de l'heure qu'elle doit venir.

Chapitre de la seconde face de la Mort
moralement depainctē.



ET FACES DE LA MORT.

L s'est fait, dict le liure des roys, cornes de fer. Il 3. Reg. 22
 fault scauoir, que nature à si bien proueu aux be-
 stes pour leur defension, que au lieu des armes,
 de quoy elles ne scauent vser, elle à baillé a celles,
 qui n'ont dentz pour mordre, cornes pour ferir, & signa-
 mēt à doné deux cornes aux bestes pour ferir de tous costez.
 Ainsi la Mort beste cornue, armée de deux tresaiques cornes,
 affin qu'elle fiere a dextre & a senestre, cest a dire, affin que
 ieunes & vieux, pouures & riches meurtrisse de ses attain-
 tes, tient indifferamment vng chascun soubz sa puissance
 & force, ce que veit en figure Daniel estant a Suze deuant la Daniel 8.
 porte du palus, ou il veit le Mouton ayant haultes cornes, &
 l'une plus haulte que l'autre: & ventilloyt ses cornes contre
 Orient, & cōtre occidēt, contre Mydi, & cōtre Septentrion,
 & toutes les bestes ne luy pouuoient resister: qui n'est aultre
 chose, que la figure de celle Mort, qui à deux cornes. Et si lon
 en euite l'une, lon ne peult fuyr l'autre. Elle frappe en Oriēt,
 c'est ascauoir en l'eage puerile, & en l'Australle region, qui est
 en la iuuentude immunde & chaleureuse. Elle frappe aussi en
 Septentrion froid & sec, qui est en la vieillesse. Puis en Occi-
 dent. Car aucuns iusques a decrepite elle attend, & ceulx là
 fiert plus molestemēt daultant que plus l'ont precedee, ge-
 missemens & douleurs, de la salut nō esperée. Et a ce propos
 disoit Seneq. Il y a aultres genres de mortz qui sont mellez
 d'esperance. La malladie à fait son cours quelque foys l'in-
 flammation sestainct. La mer reiecte hors plusieurs quelle
 auoit englouty. Le Cheuallier reuocque souuent le cousteau
 du chef de celluy quil vouloit occir. Mais de celluy lequel
 decrepire cōduict a la Mort, n'à chose en quoy il espere. Mais
 le bon Seneque en son liure des naturelles q̄stions baille vng

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bon remede pour n'estre cōsterné au dur point de la Mort, disant. Fais que la Mort te soit familiere par cogitation, affin que si ainsi le permet fortune, que tu ne la puille seulement attendre, mais que aussi hardiment luy voïe audeuant.

Chapitre de la tierce face de la Mort.

SI les larrons, & malfaiçteurs se scauoient transformer, & desguïser es lieux, ou ilz ont fait le mal, souuētesfois ilz euteroiēt le Gibet, ou les peines de iustice. Mais nous voyons cōmunement aduenir, qu'ilz sont tousiours pris a l'improheu, & que le peché les maine ainsi, que la plus part d'iceulx se viennent bruler a la chandelle. Semblablement si les pecheurs de ce mōde, apres ce, qu'ilz ont offence Dieu, se scauoient transformer, & transporter de peché par penitence a grace, l'eternel Iuge ne les reconnoistroit pour les condamner aux eternelles peines. Mais pource qu'ilz se consient a leur ieunesse, & santé corporelle, ou a leurs biens temporelz, la main du iuge par son bourreau, ou sergēt, c'est a dire par la Mort, les surprēt alors, qu'ilz pensoient estre les plus asseurez. Ainsi en print il au *Daniel* roy Balthasar. Lequel, comme recite Daniel, feit vng grand banquet a ses gētilzhōmes, abusant des vaisseaux du Tēple, esquelz il donnoit a boire a ses concubines, & a celle heure apparut vne main escripuāte en la muraille de son Palaix, ces troys motz. Mane Thethel Phares. Laquelle vision estonna si fort le Roy, qu'il feit appeller tous les Magiciens Caldees, & deuineurs de son royaume leur promettāt grandz dons, filz luy exposoient le sens de celle escripture. Mais tous ces enchāteurs ny entēdoient riens. Finablement Daniel là amenē

ET FACES DE LA MORT.

les exposa en ceste sorte. Mane, c'est a dire, ton Royaulme est denombté, o Roy, pour te dōner a entendre que le nombre des iours de ton regne est accōply. Thethel, veult a dire, que tu es mys es ballances, & te es trouuē treslegier. Phares signifie diuise. Pour monstrer que ton regne sera diuise, & donné a ceux de Perse, & de Mede. Et cela fut accomply la nuit suyuante, ainsi que dict le Maistre des histoires. Mais quelle figure, & face de Mort nous baille ce Balthasar, qui est interpreté, Turbation, & designe le pecheur ingrat, duquel Dieu a long temps attendue la conuersion, & ne s'est conuerty. A cause dequoy la diuine sentence irritée enuoye contre son chef perturbation. Pource qu'il abuse des vaisseaux du Temple. Car il employe la memoire, la volenté, & l'intelligence aux voluptez, & terriēnes delectations, lesquelles debuioient estre occupées aux biens spirituelz, & celestes cōtemplations. Mais quand il pense viure plus seurement, & plus heureusement, & florissant en ieunesse, enuironne de delices, plaisirs, & prosperitez de corps, & de biens, la Mort repentine ruant sus la fallace & fugitiue esperance, sus laquelle le miserable se fondoit, la brise, & abolly. Et alors ce chetif Balthasar, c'est a dire le Pecheur, preueni de ceste non preueue perturbation, fait venir a luy les Caldees, c'est ascauoir les medecins, leur promettāt grand salaire, s'ilz le peuuēt preseruer de la Mort. Mais tous les medecins, ne toutes les drogues, ne peuuent exposer la cause de celle escripte malladie au mur de son corps, & ne scauent resister que la Mort, là enuoyée, ne face son office. Car Daniel, c'est a dire la diuine sentence, & irreuocable diffinitio, sera executée. Par ainsi est dict, que le nombre du regne est nombré, pour ce que accomply est le terme de ce pecheur, qui ne s'est amende, Combien que Dieu l'ait lon-

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guement attendu. Et si est mys a la balance de l'examen, ou il est trouué estre fort amoindry. Car il n'a eu cure de garder l'image de son Createur, & les talentz a luy commis, qui sont la memoire, intelligence, & la voulerité, il les a dissipées sans en faire gaing, ne prouffit spirituel, bien qu'il sceut que le Seigreur, qui les luy auoir baillées, en attendoit la spirituelle vsure. Et pource la sentēce diuine est donnee contre luy, que son royaume soit diuise, c'est a dire son corps, qui est en deux regions, c'est ascauoir, en la spirituelle & corporelle que sont l'Ame, & le Corps; dont vne part en sera donnée aux vers qui fera le Corps pour le rouger, Et l'Ame au feu d'Enfer, pour y estre perpetuellement tormentée, qui est la face de Mort treshorrible, de laquelle Dieu nous vueille preseruer, & la quelle on doibt craindre a veoir.

Chapitre de la quarte face de Mort.

ENuoyez les faulx. Car les moissons sont meures, dict Iohel, au bon agriculteur, qui ne laisse son champ oyfif quand il voit le temps venu qu'il fault recueillir les grains. Car, apres ce qu'il en a leue le fromēt, il y seme Raues, ou aultres choses aptes a croistre. Parquoy il est solliciteux, de moissonner les bledz, quand ilz meurissent. Pareillement l'Agriculteur de ceste presente vie est Dieu, & vng chascun de nous est la moisson, qui doibt en ce champ fructifier. Nous voyons que les semences sont laissées au champ iusques au temps de moisson, & alors sont faulchées avec la faulx, & ne les y laisse on plus, & les meures sont avec les non meures moissonnées. Or, pour parler a propos. Dieu en ceste vie nous cōcede le temps de moissonner.

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ner, affin que venans a la meurée moisson, soyons remis es greniers du Seigneur, c'est ascauoir en la vie eternelle, & ne soyons transmis avec les pailles pour brusler. Et si nous ne produisions fruit en temps deu, la diuine iustice ne nous permettra plus demeurer en ce champ: mais avec la faucille de la Mort nous fauchera du champ de ceste presente vie, soit que nous ayons produit doux, ou aigres faitz. Celà bien preueit saint Iehan en son Apocalypse quand en vision luy fut monstré vng Ange, auquel fut comandé, qu'il moissonnast. Pource que les bledz estoient meurs. Venue (dict il) est l'heure qu'il fault moissonner. Et il mist sa Faucille en terre, & moissonna. Et là s'ensuyt en apres. Et l'autre sortist qui auoit vne Faulx aigue, & l'Ange, qui auoit la puissance sus le feu, dict a celluy, qui auoit la faulx. Metz dict il, la faulx aigue, & vendage les bourgeons de la vigne. Ce qu'il feit, & ce qu'il vendangea, il le mist au lac del'ire de Dieu. Que nous signifie, ou figure ceste Faulx, sinon la Mort humaine? & a bonne raison. Car combien que les espiez des bledz quand ilz sont au champ soient l'ung plus grand que l'autre, & plus longs, ou plus gros, toutesfois vers la racine pour le couper de la faucille sont trouuez tous esgaulx. Et ainsi fait la Mort aux humains. Car iacoit ce que au champ d'humaine vie, l'ung soit plus hault, plus excellent que l'autre par la grandeur de noblesse, ou de richesse, toutesfois la Mort en les moissonnant & les reduisant en Gerbes, si quelcun les aduisé bien, il les trouuera tous esgaulx. Nous en auôs l'exemple en Diogene, qui ne peult trouuer aulcune difference entre les os des nobles, & ignobles. Dont ie prens la premiere Faucille pour la Mort des iustes, qui au champ de ceste presente vie, entre les buissons d'aduersitez labourans sont esprouuez, puis par

Apo. 14.

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uenuz a parfaicte maturité, sont moissonnez, affin qu'ilz ne soyent plus subiectz aux dangers des tempestes, & gresles de ce monde: & affin que la chaleur ne leur tombe dessus. Et la Mort de telz est precieuse deuant Dieu. Quant a l'autre Ange tenāt la faulx tant aigue, qui moissonne les bourgeons de la vigne, c'est la Mort des pecheurs, de laquelle le Psalmiste dict. La Mort des pecheurs est mauuaise. Et c'est le Diable, qui à la puissance sus le feu eternal, que Dieu luy a baillée, & que par la permission de Dieu commande les pecheurs estre vendengez, & estre rauiz de la vigne de ceste presente vie, c'est ascauoir quand ilz ont accomply leur malice, quand en temps deu, & attendu au lieu de produire doux raisins, ont produict ameres Lambrusques, perseuerans en iniquité, & malice sans cōtrition ne repentace, & faulchez de la vigne, sont gettez au lac Infernal, ou ilz seront foullez, & leurs operations estainctes. Parquoy bien disoit de telz saint Augustin, C'est la peine de peche tresiuste, que vng chascun perde ce, de quoy il n'a bien voulu vser. Car qui n'a fait fruct en ce monde, de quoy sert il, que pour le couper, & mettre au feu.

Aug.
saint

Chapitre de la cinquiesme figurée face de la Mort.

Mat. 14.



On sans grande figurée similitude de la Mort est il escript en saint Matthieu. Comme sort l'esclair du tonnerre en Orient. Et fault entendre, que c'est vne mesme cause de l'esclair, & du tonnerre, & quasi vne mesme chose: mais elle est apperceue par deux sentimens. C'est ascauoir de l'ouye, & de la veue: & l'esclair est plus tost veu, que le tonnerre n'est ouy. Mais toutesfoys ilz viennent

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viennent tous deux ensemble. Et ceste priorité ne vient que de la partie du sentiment. Car l'espece visible est plus tost multipliée, que l'entendible, cōme on le veoit par experiēce, quand on frappe d'ung grand coup quelque chose, le coup est plus tost veu, que le son du coup n'est apperceu de ceulx, qui sont de là loingtains. Ainsi est il du tonnoirre, & de l'esclair & fulguration d'icelluy. Mais q̃lque fois le tōnerre, & l'esclair frappent tout en vng coup, & alors il est fort dāgereux. Car c'est ligne, qu'il est pres de nous. Par ainsi nō sans cause la saincte escripture appelle la Mort fulguratiō, Car le cours del'esclair est D'orient en Occident. Et le cours de la Mort est de la natiuité iusques a la fin. Pourtant ceste Mort est semblable a ce, que l'escripture crie. Car quand elle dict. Il est estably a tous les hōmes de mourir vne soys, Nous voyons cōtinuellemēt ceste fouldre frapper cestuy, & cestuy cy. Mais nous ne oyōs la voix du dīlant. Tu mourras, & ne viuras. Et pourtant en aucune facon ne croyons que debuons mourir. Cōme on le voit par exemple de celluy, qui est en vne nauire, & obuie a vne aultre, qui est nauigante sur mer, & luy semble que la sienne ne se bouge, & que l'aultre face seullemēt chemin, combien que toutes deux voient aussi tost l'une q̃ l'aultre. Ainsi les hommes en la chair, viuans selon la chair voyent continuellement le decours, & fin de la vie presente vers chascun. Et toutesfois ilz pēsent estre imortelz. Mais c'est alors chose fort perilleuse, quād la Mort est tout ensemble ouye & veue. Car on n'y peut pourueoir. Semblablement c'est chose fort dangereuse quand le pecheur ne oit la diuine escripture en sa vie, mais attend experimenter quand la Mort soudaine le viendra frapper. Car alors n'y pourra il donner remede, cōme dict Senecque. O toy incensé, & oublieur de ta fragilité,



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Exod. 9. si tu crains la Mort quand il tonne, & non deuant. Nous en lisons vne belle figure en Exode là ou il est escript, que par toute l'Egypte furent faictz des tōnerres, & des esclairs melez de feu avec de gresle, & de tempeste. Et les iumentz, qui furent trouuez hors les maisons, sont mortes. Or l'Egypte est interpretee tenebres, qui nous represente l'aveuglement des pecheurs ayans yeulx, & nō voyans. Certes les soubdains tonnerres & fouldres, sont faictes quād avec la mortelle infirmité. La gehaine d'Enfer les surpront. Et pource que hors des maisons de penitēce ilz sont trouuez vagans par les champs de vanité de ceste vie presente, pourriilans cōme iumētz aux fumiers de la chair, descendāt sur eulx la tempeste de repētine Mort, soubdain sont esrainctz. Et des Diables molestez sont ravis a l'heure de la Mort. Doat saint Gregoire a ce propos disoit. L'antique ennemy pour raver les ames des pecheurs au temps de la Mort desbridela violēce de cruaulté, & ceulx que vians il a trompé par flateries, s'encrudelissant les ravit mourans. Bien debuons nous donc ouyr le tonnerre de la sacrée escripture disant. Là ou ie te tronueray, ie te iugeray. Pourtant nous enseigne le Saige a considerer noz derniers iours, affin que ne pechons, mais soyons tousiours preparez. Parquoy disoit saint Gregoire. Qui cōsidere coment il sera a la Mort, se tiendra desjà pour mort.

Grego. lib. 6. mor.

Grego. 22. mora.

Chapitre de la sixiesme figurée face de la Mort.

Neemie. 8.



Isant ce qu'est escript en Neemie le Prophete. Le peuple est congrege deuant la porte des eues, l'ay sus celà contemple, qu'il n'y a aucune voye tant longue, qui par continuation de cheminer,



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ne soit quelquefois acheuée, mais quelle aye quelque bout, ou fin. Semblablement ceste présente vie, c'est vne voye entre deux poinctz enclose & terminée, c'est ascauoir entre la natiuité, & la Mort. Et pourtāt nous sommes tous viateurs, dont il nous fault venir au terme, & a la porte, c'est ascauoir a la Mort, qui est dictē la fin de la présente vie, & le cōmencemēt de la subsequente. Il est bien vray, que quelque fois la porte est ardue. Et pource qu'elle est estroicte, il fault les entrās par icelle estre deschargez, & agilles, affin que pour le faix de quelque chose empeschez ne puissions entrer, & que soyons forclos. Plus spirituellement parlant aux fidelles, desirans la vie future, Il leur fault entrer par la porte de la Mort de bon grē, & se preparer en la vie tellemēt, que au iour du passaige s'estre deschargē des pechez du Diable, qui est apprestē pour alors maſter, & oppreſſer les pecheurs, lesquelz il trouuera occupez de la peſāteur de peche. Parquoy diſoit Iob. Loing seront faictz ſes filz de ſalut, & seront brifez a la porte. Et de cecy nous en baille vne figure Hieremie la, ou il recite noſtre Hier. 7. Seigneur auoir dict. Gardez vōs ames, & ne veuillez porter charges, ou faix au iour du Sabbath, & ne les mettez dedās les portes de Ieruſalem. Et puis il adioute. Ne mettez les charges par les portes de ceste Citē. Au iour du Sabbath entrerōt par icelles les Princes du royaume ſe ſeans ſur le ſiege de Dauid hōme de Iudēe. Le iour du Sabbath nous repreſente le repos, & le iour, qui eſt le dernier de la ſepmaine, c'eſt adire le dernier iour de l'hōme, le iour de la Mort, Auq̃l ne faudra trouuer l'homme chargē de pondereux fardeaulx. Car alors ſont difficiles a deſcharger. Mal ſe peult l'hōme alors cōfeſſer & allegger ſon ame de peché. A ceste cauſe nous enſeigne noſtre ſeigneur. Priez que voſtre ſuitte ne ſoit faicte en hyuer,



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ou au iour du Sabbat, il nous fault vng iour entrer par les
stroicte & ardue porte de la Mort humaine, qui est de si gran
de estroisseur, que si au parauant ne sont mys ius les faix de
peche, nul peult par icelle liberallement entrer, dont disoit ce
moral Seneque. Si nous voulōs estre heureux, si ne des Dieux
ne des hōmes, ne des choses ne voulons auoir crainte, despri-
sons fortune promettāte choses superflues. Et quand Ieremie
dict. Par celle porte entreront les Roys, c'est a entendre, que
qui auront bien vescu, & qui auront regne sus les vices par
confession, se deschargeans de la pesāteur de peché entrant
par ceste porte de Mort a tous cōmune, habiterōt celle cele-
ste Cité de Ierusalem, interpretée vision de paix; & ne seront
confunduz, cōme dict le Psalmiste, quand ilz parlerōt a leurs
ennemys a la porte.

Chapitre de la septiesme figurée face de Mort.



Es mondains quelque grande cōpaigrie de gens
qu'ilz ayent, ou quelque grande volupté, qui les
puisse delecter, sont a toutes heures melancoliqs,
tristes, & faschez. Et n'orriez dire entre eulx aultre
propos, que, Je voudrois estre mort. Je me repens d'auoir
faict cela. Le meschāt, n'est il pas bien ingrat. Mauldiēt soit le
monde, & qui s'y fiera. Je ne veux plus hanter personne. La
mais ie ne me fieray plus a nully. Et telz ou plus estranges, &
desesperez propos entendrez vous tous les iours de ceulx,
qui non en Dieu, mais es hōmes, mettent leur cōfidence, con-
solation, & amour. Parquoy de telles gens est dict par le Psal-
mist. Ilz ont erré en solitude, & n'ont congneu la voye de la
Cité. Et certes celle voye est fort difficile & perilleuse, en la

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quelle on trouue en solitude vng passaige doubteux, deuiât,
 & incōgneu. Car q̄lque fois le viateur prenant ce chemin se
 deuie du droict chemin. & n'y scait plus reuenir. Et ce pēdāt
 est en dāger, d'estre occis, ou des larrōs, ou des bestes saulua-
 ges. Parquoy doit l'hōme prendre en tel passaige q̄lq̄ guy-
 de, & iamais ne l'habādōner. N'est point a vostre aduis, ceste
 p̄sente vie doubteuse, Car si au pas de la Mort. iamais elle ne
 peult par droicte voye estre trouuée, ce tesmoignāt Iob, qui Iob. 13.
 dict. Je ne retourneray iamais par le sentier, ou ie passe. Nous
 debuōs dōc suyure le cōducteur, & celluy bien saichāt le che-
 min, c'est ascauoir nostre seignr auq̄l ce recitant saint Marc,
 fut dict. Maistre, nous scauons que tu es veritable, & la voye
 de Dieu en verité enseignes. Aultremēt deuyeriōs de la voye
 de rectitude, & serions pris de ce trescruel larron, qui nous
 enuironne nuit & iour pour nous deuorer. Ce que nous a
 esté tresbien figuré au liure des Nombres quand les enfans Nu. 14.
 d'Israel ne voulās a l'entrée de la terre de promission suyure
 Moysse, perirēt par diuers supplices. Ainsi ne voulans suyuir
 la voye de penitēce a nō^r mōstrée par I E S V C H R I S T
 au pas incōgneu de l'horrible Mort, cheminās par les desers,
 & solitude de ce monde sommes en danger de tomber entre
 les cruelz larrōs, & bestes sauluaiges. A ce propos saint Ber-
 nard. O Ame (dict il) que ce sera de celle peur quand auoir In lib. med.
 laissē toutes choses, la présence desquelles t'est tant plaisante,
 seule tu entreras, en vne a toy totallemēt incōgneue region
 là, ou tu verras vne trefaistre cōpaignie, qui te viendra au
 deuāt. Qui est ce qui au iour d'une telle necessitē te sourdra?
 Qui te defendra des rugissans Lyons preparez a la viande?
 Qui te consolera? Qui est ce qui te guydera? Et il sensuit. Eslis
 soy dōcques ce tien amy plus que tous tes amys. Leq̄l apres
I in



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que toutes choses te seront esté substraictes, seul te gardera la foy au iour de ta sépulture. Et te conduira par chemin incogneu, te menât a la place de la supernelle Syon, & là te colloquera avec les Anges deuant la face de la maiesié diuine.

Chapitre de la huiëtiefme figurée image de la Mort.

Quand.

QN lict au liure des Iuges cecy. Il habite en la spelunque, ou fosse, demonstrent que vng cheminât par les neiges en temps clair, quand le soleil luyt sus icelles, puis arriue a la maison, ou au logis, il ne voit plus rien. Et la raison est, Car celle blâcheur excellēte faict si grande disgregation aux yeulx, & laisse vne fantasme de rât de clartez, qu'il ne peult veoir aultre chose. Mais quād il entre en la maison ou bien en obscure fosse, il luy semble auoir tousiours deuant ses yeulx celle clarté. Dont il est fort dâgereux si dedans la maison, ou la fosse à quelque mauuais pas, qu'il ne se dommaige en trespuchant. Et n'y à meilleur remede, fors de demeurer là vng espace de temps iusques a ce, que la fantasme de celle clarté soit euadée. Applicant cecy au sens spirituel. Nous prendrons les neiges pour les prosperitez de la vie presente, & a bonne raison. Car quand les neiges sont cōglutinées, elles apparoissent tresblanches & reluisantes. Et puis quand le vent Austral leur vient courir sus, elles deuenēnt tres sales, & ordes. Ainsi les prosperitez de ce monde, tandis quelles adherent a l'homme, elles apparoissent tres claires, belles, & reluisantes. Mais la fortune contrariant par la volubilité de sa Roue, sont cōuerties en gemissemēs, & en pleurs. Et pource les longuemēt cheminās par icelles sont

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si fort auueuglez au cueur,& en l'affection, que quand ilz doibuent entrer au logis de la vie future, par la Mort ilz n'y voyent rien,& ne scauent ou ilz vont. Ilz ont vne fantasme si imprimée en leurs penſées, que quaſi elle ne ſe peut effacer par la Mort tenebreuſe & obſcure. Ilz ne peuuent aduiſer la ſoubdaineté de la Mort, ne les perilz Infernaux, ne la crainte du Iuge. Et briefuemēt ne peuuent rien penſer, fors la felicité de ceſte vie mortalle, tant tiennent ilz les piedz en la foſſe,& l'Amē en la peine d'Enfer. Et pourtāt ſaint Gregoire ſus celā que, dict Iob, Mes iours ſont paſſez plus legierement, que la toille n'eſt couppée du tiſſerand, dict: qu'il n'eſt riens a quoy moins penſent les hōmes. Car encores que la Mort les tienne par le collet, Ilz ne la croient ſus eux aduenir. Ainſi par ces vaines & fantaſtiques illuſions mondaines l'hōme preuenu ne peut entendre a ſon ſalut. Et le ſouuerain remede pour cecy eſt de penſer entētiſuemēt, & avec lōgae pauſe le diuin logis, c'eſt aſcauoir la Mort, par la foſſe & obſcure maiſon. De là cōgnoiſtra lon que vault la pōpe du mōde, ſa gloire, ſa richelle, & ſes delices. Et qui deſpriſera & meſcongnoiſtra toutes ces choſes, cōgnoiſtra Dieu. Ainſi en print il au bon ^{3. Reg. 14.} Helie, qui demeura a la porte de la foſſe obſeruāt, & ſpeculār. Et premieremēt paſſa vng vent brifant pierres, & là n'eſtoit noſtre Seigneur. Secōdemēt paſſa vne cōmotion de terre, & là n'eſtoit noſtre Seignr. Tiercemēt paſſa le feu, & là n'eſtoit noſtre Seignr. Quartemēt paſſa vng ſiſlet d'une douce aure, & avec elle eſtoit noſtre Seigneur. Et Helias velt le ſeigneur, & ilz ont parle enſemble D I E U & Helie. Or pour parler a noſtre propos par Helie, qui eſt dict voyant, eſt deſigné vng prouide Chreſtien, qui ſe cōgnoiſſant mortel touſiours ſpecule a la Mort. Et pource q̄ ſon terme eſt incertain, il ſe

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dispose tousiours pour la recepuoir, comme si a toute heure elle debuoit a luy venir. Et a vng ainsi dispose la Mort ne peult amener perturbation. Pourtant disoit Senecue. Nul de nous ne scait combien son terme est pres. Ainsi donc formons nostre couraige, cōme si lon estoit venu a l'extremité. Car nul ne recoit la Mort ioyeusement sinon celluy, qui s'y est preparé a la recepuoir au parauāt par lōgue speculation. Et si ainsi nous nous preparons de bonne heure, il n'est vent d'orgueil ne tremblement de terre par ire esmeue, ne feu de couuoitise, qui nous puisse dommager. Mais pour le dernier on verra la douce allaine de la suauité de saincte escripture là ou Dieu parlera salutaires documentz, par lesquelz appertement on verra ce qu'est a fuyr, & ce qu'on doit s'uyure, sans ce que les plaisirs transitoires puissent les yeulx de la pensée estre aucuglee par aucune disgregation. Dieu nous doint la grace a tous de si bien a ces faces de Mort penser, & si intensiuelement les mirer & aduiser, que quand la Mort par le vouloir de Dieu nous viendra prendre, que assurez de celluy, qui d'elle à triumphe, nous puissions ainsi triumpher d'elle, que par le merite de ce triumpheāt Chariot de la Croix puissions paruenir en celle vie, ou la Mort n'à plus puissance ne vertu. Amen.

Laus Deo.



Les diuerſes Mors

DES BONS, ET DES

mauluais du uiel, & nouveau

Testament.



Vltre les funebres figures de Mort, tant es frayeuses aux mauuais, avec le pinceau de l'escripture serōt icy representées les Mortz des iustes, & iniques, a l'imitatiō de Lucian, qui en son dialogue des imaiges diēt, Que pour depeindre vne parfaicte beaulte de femme, ne fault que reuocquer deuant les yeux de la memoire les particulieres beaultez d'ung chascun membre feminin cà, & là, par les excellentz peinctres antique ment pourtraictes. Semblablement en ce petit tableau seront tracées toutes les belles, & laides Mortz de la Bible, desq̃lles les lectrez en pourrōt cōprendre histoires dignes d'estre aux illiterez cōiquees, Le tour a la gloire de celluy, qui permet a la Mort dominer sus tous viuās, ainsi qu'il luy plaist, & quād il veult.

Figure de la Mort en general.



Ource que vraye est la sentence de Dieu, par la ^{Gen. 1.} quelle il diēt a l'hōme, En q̃lconque heure q̃ vous mangerez d'icelluy, c'est a dire du defendu fruit, vous mourrez. Il est certain que incōrinent apres le peché l'homme meurt. Donc l'homme viuant quasi contri-

K

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nuellement meurt, selon saint Augustin en son, xliij. de la Cité de Dieu.

Gene. 5. Comme ainsi soit, que par tant d'ans ayent vescu deuant le deluge les hommes, signaument l'escripture apres la description du temps de leur vie dict, Et il est mort.

Si noz anciens Peres craignoiēt la Mort, & desiroient longue vie, il n'estoit de merueille. Car ilz ne pouuoient encor mōter au Ciel, ne iouir de la diuine vision iusques a ce, que le Saulueur est venu, qui ouurit la porte de Paradis. Parquoy le bon Loth, admonnest de l'Ange, quil se fauluaſt en la montagne, craignit y aller, affin q̄ par aduēture le mal ne le print & y mourut là.

Num. 23. Mort des iustes, dict Balaam.

Aussi les mauuais desirent mourir. Meure mon ame de là
Deute. 4. Iacoit ce que Moyse ne voullist obeir au cōmandemēt de Dieu, qui vouloit, qu' l passast le Iourdain, toutesfois on veoit assez que liberallement il eust plus vescu, si Dieu eust voulu. Parquoy il dict, Le seigneur est ire cōtre moy, voicy ie meurs en ceste terre, ie ne passeray le Iourdain.

Deut. 12. La plus grand part du guerdon de la Loy Mosaique sembloit estre constituée en la longueur de vie: Car il est escript, Mettez voz cueurs en toutes les parolles que ie vous restifie, affin que les faisant, perseueriez long temps en terre a la quel le vous entrez pour la posseder.

Judi. 3. Myeux aymerent Zebée, & Salmana, estre tuez de la main de Gedeon vaillant hōme, que de la main de Iether son filz.

3 Re. 19. Lors q̄ Elias estoit assis soubz vng Geneurier, il demāda a son ame, quil mourust, disant. Il me souffit mon Seigneur, oste mon ame.

Isaie. 38. Ezechias roy de Iudée chemina deuant le Seigneur en vos

DES MAVLVAIS.

rité,& fut bon. Toutefois quād il luy fut annoncé par Esaie, qu'il debuoit mourir, Il pria le seigneur par vng grād pleur, affin qu'encores il luy prolongeast la vie.

Thobie prouoque, auoir ouye la responce de la femme souspira, & cōmença a prier avec Ihermes, disant. Tu es iuste Thobi. 3.
Seigñr, cōmāde mō ame estre en paix receue, car il m'est plus expediēt mourir q̄ viure. Et puis il sensuyt au Chapitre IIIL. quād il pēsa son oraison estre exaulcée, il appella son filz &c.

Sarra fille de Raguel, auoir receu d'une des chamberieres griefue iniure, pria le Seigneur, & dict entre aultres choses. Thobi. 3.
Je requiers Seigneur, que du lien de ce impropere tu m'absolues, ou certes, que tu m'ostes de dessus la terre.

Deuant le roy Sedechias offrit Hieremie ses prieres, affin qu'il ne le tuast, ce qu'il cōmandast le remettre en la prison, en laq̄lle il estoit au parauāt: affin qu'il ne mourust, par la Mort de la Croix, laquelle le Sauueur voulut soustenir, monstra manifestement, que non seullemēt vouloit mourir, Mais vng chascun genre de Mort debuoir estre souffert d'ung homme iuste pour obeir a la diuine volenté. Hier. 38.

Deuant l'aduenement du sainct Esperit trop craignirent la Mort, les apostres: qui, estre pris leur Seigneur, le laisserent tous: mais apres ce qu'ilz furent par la vertu d'enhault roboréz, & cōfirmez, menez deuant les princes, & Tyrans parloient fiduciallement. Mat. 26.

Peu craignoit mais point ne craignoit la Mort, saint Paul, Actu. per
Iouan.
qui disoit, n'estre seullemēt appareillē a estre lyē, mais aussi de mourir pour le nom du seigneur Iesus.

Et luy mesmes en aultre lieu dict. Sil est notoire aux Iuifz, ou que i'ay faict quelque chose digne de Mort, je ne recuse mourir. Actu. 22.
Toutesfoys il fault noter, que plusieurs fois euitāt les



DE LA MORT

embusches des Iuifz, qu'il fuyoit de Cité en Cité, non pour crainte de Mort, mais faisant place a la fureur des mauuais se referuoit vtile a plusieurs.

De l'horrible Mort des mauuais, description
depeincte selon la sainte Escripture.

Gene. 4.

Gene. 14.



Ain, qui tua son frere, fut occis par Lamech.

Nostre seigneur enuoya pluye de soulfhre, & de feu sus Sodome, & subuertit cinq Citez puan res d'ung detestable peche.

Gene. 34

Sichen filz d'Emor, qui oppressa Dyna fille de Iacob, fut tué des filz de Iacob, & tout le peuple de la Cité.

Exo. 14.

Leaue de la mer rouge submergea les chariotz, & tout l'equippaige, gēsdarmes, & l'exercite de Pharaon, & n'en demeura pas vng. Et certes bien iustemēt. Pource qu'il faillloit, que le corps fut noye de celluy, duquel le cueur ne pouuoit estre amolly.

Leui. 10.

Nadab, & Abihu filz de Aaron offrans l'esträge feu deuāt Dieu ont esté deuorez du feu du seigneur, & sont mortz.

Leui. 24.

Par le commandement de nostre Seigneur les filz d'Israel menerent hors de leur exercite le blasphemateur, & lassommerent de pierres.

Nom. 16.

Choré, Dathan, & Abyron, & leurs complices rebellans a Moysé descendirent vifz en Enfer, engloutiz de la terre.

Ibidem.

Les aultres murmurans, & commettans diuers pechez, moururent de diuerses mortz au desert: tellemēt que de sept cens mille hommes barailans, deux seulement entrerent en la terre de promission.

Iose. 7.

Pource q̄ Acham emporta furtiuemēt des tresors offertz :



DES MAUVAIS.

en Iherico, tout le peuple d'Israel le lapida, & par feu cōsuma tout ce, que luy appartenoit.

Iahel femme d'Abercinée emporta le clou du Tabernacle, ^{Iudi. 4.} & le ficha au cerueau de Sisare, qui accōpaissant le sommeil a la Mort, deffaillit, & mourut.

Si Zebee & Salmana eussent garde les freres de Gedeon, ^{Iudi. 8.} Gedeon leur eut pardonne. Et pource qu'ilz les tuerent, ilz furent occis par Gedeon.

Les filz d'Israel prindrent Adonibesech, auoir couppé les ^{Iudi. 2.} summitez & boutz de ses mains (ai rsi qu'il auoir faict a seprante Roys) l'amenerent en Ierusalem, & là il est mort.

Vne femme geçant sus la teste d'Abimelech vne piece ^{Iudi. 9.} d'une meulle luy froissa le cerueau, lequel appella son genedarme, & commenda qu'il le tuast. Et nostre Seigneur luy rendit le mal qu'il auoit faict, meçant a mort seprante siens freres.

Quand Hely ouyt l'arche du Seigneur Dieu estre prinse, il ^{1. Reg. 4.} tomba de sa selle a lenuers, iouxte la porte, & s'estre rompu le cerueau mourut.

Dauid ieune gars tout defarme, & n'ayant l'usaiqe des ar- ^{1. Reg. 17.} mes: assaillit le superbe, & blasphemateur Goliath, & le tua de son propre cousteau.

Saul par ie ne scay quelle enuie esmeu persecuta Dauid. A ^{1. Reg. 31.} la fin, print son cousteau, & se iectant sus icelluy se tua.

Le premier filz de Dauid viola sa seur Thamar, & peu ^{2. Reg. 13.} apres fut tué par le cōmandement d'Absalon son frere ainsi qu'il banquettoit avec luy.

Par la couuoitise de dominer fort affligea Absalō son pere ^{2. Reg. 18.} Dauid. Mais deuant qu'il paruint a son propos il fut pendu entre le Ciel & la Terre.



DE LA MORT

- 2.Re.17. Voyāt Achitophel q̄ son cōseil ne fut accepté qu'il auoit donné contrē Dauid, s'en alla en sa maison, & mourut au Gibet.
- 2.Re.20. Seba filz de Bochri cōcira le peuple cōtre Dauid en la cité d'Abela, Là ou il pensoit auoit refuge & ayde, fut decapité.
- 2.Reg.1. Ladolefcēt, qui se vanta auoir tue Saul, par le cōmādemēt de Dauid, fut tue quād il luy pēsoit annūcer chose agreable.
- 2.Reg. 4. Le semblable aduint a deux larrōs, qui apporterēt la teste de Isbofeth filz de Saul.
- 3.Reg.2. Combien que Ioab fut vng noble cheualier, toutesfois pource qu'il occist deux hommes en trahison fut commande d'estre tue par Salomon.
- 3.Reg.22. Achab blessé en la guerre mourut au vespre, & les chiens lecherent son sang, en ce mesme lieu, auquel ilz lecherent le sang Naboth, qui fut lapidé se dissimulant Achab, qui le pouuoit, & debuoit sauuer.
- 3.Reg.16. Vng aultre mauuais roy Ela regnoit en Iudée tyranniquement cōtre lequel se rebella Zambri, & tua son seigneur, lequel Zambri puis mourut miserablement.
- 4.Reg.2. Quand Helisee monta en la Cité de Bethel, q̄lques enfans mal instruiēt se mocquoiēt de luy, alors sortirēt deux Ours, & deslirerent quarante deux de ces enfans.
- 4.Reg.7. Lung des deux, qui estoit avec le roy d'Israel ne voulut croire aux parolles de Helisee predisant la future habōdāce, au lendemain, le suffoca la turbe des hommes courante aux despoullies, & là il mourut.
- 4.Reg.8. Benedab roy de Syrie, qui feit moult de maux aux enfans d'Israel, fut a la fin de son filz Asahel occis.
- 4.Reg.9. Voyant Iehu la mauuaisē Iesabel, qui auoit esté cause de plusieurs maux, cōmenda qu'elle fust precipitée en bas; & fut

DES MAUVAIS.

tellement conculquée, de la foule des cheuaux, que combien qu'elle fut fille de Roy, ne fut ensepuclie; & n'esta que le test de la teste.

Athalie mere de Ocholie tua toute la semence Royale Affin qu'elle peut regner sus le peuple. Et puis apres elle fut tuee villainement par le commandement de loïades prestre. 4. reg. 11.

Le roy Ioas mauuais, & ingrat, qui feit lapider cruellement Zacharie filz du prestre Ioïades fut en apres occis des siens. 4. reg. 24.

Sennacherib roy des Assiriens tresorgueilleux, & au Dieu du Ciel blasphemateur apres que de la terre de Iudee confusement s'en fut fuy, fut tue par ses enfans. 4. reg. 19.

Sedechias roy de Iudee mauuais vers Dieu, & vers les homes, fut pris en fuyant, deuant les yeux duquel le Roy de Babylone feit tuer ses propres enfans. Apres on luy creua les yeux, & fut mene en Babylone, & la mourut miserablement. 4. reg. 34.

Holofernes print, & destruit plusieurs pais, finalement dormant enyure par les mains d'une femme fut decapité. Jud. 13.

Le tres superbe Aman, qui se faisoit adorer des hommes, fut pendu au Gibet, qu'il auoit preparé a Mardochee. Ester. 7.

Balthasar roy de Babylone. ne fut corrigé par l'exemple de Nabuchodonosor son pere, qui deuant luy auoit este mué en beste, & au conuie veit l'escripture en la muraille. Mane, Thethel, Phares. Et celle nuit il fut tué, & son Royaulme translate aux Medes, & a ceux de Perse. Dan. 3. 9.

Les accusateurs de Daniel par le commandement de Darius roy de Perse furent mys au lac des Lyons, le semblable aduint au. c. XIIII. Dan. 6.



DE LA MORT

- Mach. 1.** Puis que Alexandre tomba au liét on diét qu'il congneut qu'il debuoit mourir, quasi comme si au parauant il nauoit congnoissance de Mort, ou la memoire d'icelle.
- 1. Mach. 9.** Alchimus traistre fut frappe, & impotent de Paralifie, ne plus il ne peult parler, ne le mander a sa maison. Et mourut auec vng grand torment.
- 2. mach. 4.** Contristé le roy Antiochus de ce, que Andronique auoit tué iniustemet Onias souuerain Prebistre, cōmanda Andronique estre tue au mesme lieu, auquel il auoit commis trop grande impieté.
- 2. mach. 7.** Plusieurs sacrileges commis au temple par Lyfimachus, fut assemblee vne grande multitude de peuple contre luy, & au pres du Tresor ilz le tuerent.
- 2. mach. 9.** Antiochus, qui auoit oppresse les entrailles de plusieurs, souffrant dures douleurs des entrailles par miserable Mort, mourut en la montaigne.
- 2. mach. 5.** Iason meschāt qui auoit captiue son propre frere, & auoit banny plusieurs gens de son pais, mourut en exil, & demeura sans estre plainct, ne ensepuely.
- Menelaus malicieusement obtint en peu de temps la principaulte, mais tost fut precipité, d'une haulte tour, en vng monceau de cendres.
- Luc. 12.** C'est hōme riche, le champ duquel auoit produict habondance de fruit, quand il pensoit destruire les greniers pour en faire de plus amples, croyoit de plus viure, ce qu'il ne feit. Car il luy fut diét par nostre Seigneur, Soit ceste nuit tu periras.
- Luc. 16.** Fort terrible est l'exemple de ce famé mauuais riche, qui tant banquettoit, lequel mourut, & fut ensepuely en Enfer.
- Adm. 5.** Ananias & sa femme Saphira, pource qu'ilz defrauderent du pris

DES IUSTES.

du pris de leur champ vendu, moururent terriblement par la reprehension de saint Pierre.

Herodes assis au tribunal, & vestu d'habitz royaulx, prechoit au peuple, Et le peuple escroit les voix de Dieu, & non des hommes. Alors tout incontinent, l'Ange du Seigneur, le frappa. Pour ce qu'il n'auoit baille l'honneur a Dieu. Et consumé des vers, expira miserablement. A. 12.

Autre depeincte description, de la precieuse Mort des Iustes.



Quand Abel & Cain estoient au champ. Cain se leua contre Abel & le tua. Et a cause, cōme on en rend Gene. 4. la raison, que ses oeures estoient mauuaises, & celles de son frere iustes.

Enoch chemina avec Dieu, & napparut. Car Dieu l'emporta. Gene. 5.

Abraham est mort en bonne vieillesse, & de grand eage, Gene. 25. remply de iours, & fut congrege a son peuple.

Les iours de Isaac sont accomplis cent octante ans, & consumé d'eage est mort, & mys au deuant de son peuple vieil, Gene. 35. & plein de iours.

Quand Ioseph eut adiuré ses freres, & qu'il leur eut dist, Gene. 50. Emportez avec vous mes ossemens de ce lieu &c. Il mourut.

Moyse, & Aaron par le commandement de Dieu monterent en la montaigne Hor, deuant toute la multitude, & quand Num. 20. Aaron se fut despouille de tous ses vestemens, il en reuefut Eleazare, & la mourut Aaron.

Moyse le seruiteur de Dieu est mort en la terræ de Moab, le commandant le Seigneur, & le Seigneur l'ensepuelir. Et Deut. 34.

L

DE LA MORT

nul hōme n'a cōgneu son sepulchre iusques a ce present iour.

2. Par. 29. Daud, apres instruction de son filz Salomon, & l'oraison qu'il feit au Seigneur pour luy, & pour tout le Peuple, mourut en bonne vieillesse plein de iours, de richesse, & de gloire.

4. Es. 2. Quand Helisee, & Helie cheminoiēt ensemble, voicy vng chariot ardāt, & les cheuaults de feu, diuiserēt lung & l'autre. Et Helie monta au Ciel en fulguration.

2. Par. 24. L'esprit de Dieu vestit Zacharie filz de Ioiade, & dict au peuple. Pourquoi trāspassez vous le cōmandement du Seigneur? Ce que ne vous prouffitera. Lesq̃lz congregez encontre luy getterent des pierres, iouxte le cōmandement du Roy & il fut tué.

Thob. 14. Thobie a l'heure de la Mort appella Thobie sō filz, & sept ieunes ses nepueux, & leur dict. Pres est ma fin. Et vng peu apres est dict de son filz. Auoir acomply huiſtante neuf ans, en la craincte du Seigneur avec ioye, l'ensēpuelirent avec toute sa lignée &c.

Job. 34. Iob vesquit apres les flagellations cent quarāte ans, & veit les filz de ses filz iusques a la quarte generation, & il est mort, vieil, & plein de iours.

2. Reg. 22. &c. 17. Daud ne voulut plourer pour son filz innocent mort, qu'il auoit plouré quād il estoit malade. Mais il ploura beau coup pour le fraticide, & patricide Absalon pendu.

2. Ma. 2. Apres l'instruction, & confort de ses enfans, Mathatias les benest, & trespassa, & fut mis avec ses Peres.

1. Ma. 9. Voyant Iudas Machabee la multitude de ses ennemys, & la paucire des siens, dict. Si nostre temps est'approche, mourons en vertu pour noz freres.

1. Mac. 6. Eleazare, apres plusieurs tormēs a luy baillez, trespassa de ceste vie, laissant a tout le Peuple grand memoire de sa vertu

DES IVSTES.

& fortitude.

Ces sept freres avec leur piteuse Mere firent vne admirable fin, par louable moyen, Et se peuuent là noter plusieurs exemples de vertu.

Pour la verité & honnesteté de mariage, S. Iehan Baptiste ^{Mat. 6.} fut decollé par Herodes Tetrarche.

De ce renommé pouure Ladre est escript, que là médiant ^{Luc. 16.} mourut, & qu'il fut porté des Anges au seing d'Abraham,

Comment qu'aye vescu ce larron, auquel Iesuchrist pendant, dict, Au iourd'huy seras avec moy en Paradis, il mourut heureusement.

Quand le benoist Estienne estoit lapidé, il inuoquoit le Seigneur Dieu, & disoit. Seigneur Iesus, recoy mon esprit. ^{Act. 7. 59.} Et l'estre mis a genoux, escria a haulte voix, Seigneur, ne leur repute cecy a peché &c. Et quand il eut ce dict. Il dormit en nostre Seigneur, a laquelle Mort faisons la nostre semblable.

Et nostre saulueur Iesuchrist, qui selon saint Augustin, au quart de trini. par sa singuliere Mort a destruiet la nostre double Mort. Lequel, comme il dict apres au. ^{XIIII.} de la cité de Dieu, donna tant de grace de foy, que de la Mort (qui est contraire a la vie) fut fait instrument, par lequel on passeroit a la vie. Laquelle nous concede le vray autheur de salut eternelle, Qui est voye, verité, & vie. Qui a de la vie, & de la Mort, l'empire. Qui avec le Pere, & le saint Esprit vit & regne Dieu par siecles interminables.

Amen.

Description des sepulchres des
Iustés.

L. ij

DES SEPVL. DES IUSTES.

- Gen. 23.** Avec grande diligēce achepta Abrahā le champ, auquel il ensepuelit sa femme quād elle fut morte.
- Gen. 47. &c. 19.** Iacob ne voulut estre ensepueley avec les mauuais hommes en Egypte, mais abiura Ioseph, que quand il seroit mort, qu'on le portast au sepulchre de ses Peres, ce que Ioseph accomplit avec grande sollicitude.
- Exod. 13.** Sortant Moysē d'Egypte, emporta les ossemēs de Ioseph avec soy.
- 1. reg. 31. 2 reg. 1.** Dauid loua fort les hōes Labes Galaad, pource q̄ les corps de Saul, & de ses filz auoiēt este reuerāmēt ensepueliz p eulx.
- 3. reg. 13.** La peine de celluy, qui auoit mangé le pain en la maison du mauuais Prophete cōtre le cōmādemēt de Dieu, fut ceste seule, qu'il ne fut ensepueley au sepulchre de ses Peres.
- 4. reg. 9.** Iehu Roy d'Israel, qui feit tuer Iesabel, la feit ensepuelir: pource qu'elle estoit fille du Roy.
- Thob. 1. 2** Loue est Thobie, de ce, que avec le peril de sa vie les corps des occis il emportoit, & solliciteusement leur donnoit sepulture.
- Thob. 4.** La premiere admonitiō entre celles salubres, que feit Thobie a son filz, fut de sa sepulture, & de celle de sa femme.
- 2. Mac. 4.** Les Iuisz accusateurs du meschant Menelaus furent par l'inique Iuge condamnez a mort. Parquoy les Tyriens indignez de ce liberallement leur preparerent sepulture.
- 2. mac. 12.** Apres la guerre contre Gorgias commune, vint Iudas Machabee pour recueillir les corps des mortz, & les ensepuelir avec leurs parentz.
- Matt. 14. Mar. 6.** Les disciples de saint Iehan Baptiste ouyans qu'il auoit esté decollé par Herodes, vindrent, & prindrent son corps, & l'ensepuelirent.
- Ioan. 12.** Il appert que nostre Seigneur a eu cure de sa sepulture,



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par ce qu'il respondit. a Iudas murmurant de l'oignement
qui selon luy,debuoit estre vendu,Laisse (dict il) affin que au
iour de ma sepulture,elle le garde.

Nostre Seigneur fut ensepuey par Ioseph,& Nicodeme Matt.27.
Mar.15.
Luc.23.
au sepulchre neuf taillé , auquel nul n'auoit encores este mys.

Les hōmes craintifz eurent cure de saint Estienne lapidé Ioan.20.
des Iuifz,& feirent vng grand plainct sus luy. A&B.

MEMORABLES AVTHO: ritez,&sentences des Philosophes,& orateurs Payēs pour cōfermer les uiuans a nō craindre la Mort.



Ristote dict vers le fleue appelle Hypanin,qui
de la ptie d'Europe derriue en la mer,certaines
bestioles naistre,qui ne viuent qu'ung iour tāt
seulement.Et celle qui meurt sur les huiet heu-
res de matin,est donc dictē morte de bon eage;
& celle,qui meurt a Midy est morte en vieillesse. Laultre,qui
deuant la Mort veoit le Solēil coucier,est decrepitee. Mais
tout celā comparaige a nostre treslong eage,auec l'eternite,
nous serons trouuez quali en celle mēme breuite de temps,
en laq̃lle viuent ces bestiolles.Et pourtāt quād nous voyons
mourir quelque ieune personne,il fault pēser qu'il meurt de
matin.Puis quand vng de quarante,ou cinquāte ans meurt,
pensons que c'est a midy.Et que tantost viēdra le vespre qu'il

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nous fauldra a la fin aller coucher pour dormir, comme les autres:& que quãd l'heure sera venue de ce soir que peu ou riens aurons d'auantaige,d'estre demeurez apres celluy,qui s'en est allé a huiët heures,ou a Midy,puisque a la fin du iour il nous fault aussi la passer. Parpuoy disoit Cicero,& disoit bien. Tu as le sommeil pour imaige de la Mort, & tous les iours tu ten reuestz. Et si doubtes,Il y à nul sentiment a la Mort,combien que tu voyes qu'en son simulachre il n'y à nul sentimēt. Et dict apres que Alcidas vng Rheteur antique escripuit les louanges de la Mort,en lesquelles estoient cōtenuz les nombres des maux des humains,& ce pour leur faire desirer la Mort. Car si le dernier iour n'amaine extinction, mais commutation de lieu, Quest il plus a desirer? Et si l'estainct & efface tout, Quest il rien meilleur, que de s'en dormir au milieu des labeurs de ceste vie,& ainsi se reposer en vng sempiternel sommeil. Certes nature ne faict riens temerairement: mais determine toutes choses a quelque fin. Elle n'à donc produit l'homme, affin apres auoir souffert icy plusieurs trauaux,elle l'enferme en la misere de perpetuelle Mort:mais affin qu'apres vne longue nauigation elle le conduise a vne paisible demeure,& a vng tranquille port. Parquoy ceulx qui par vieillesse ou par maladie, sont plus pres de la mort, sont d'autant plus heureux que les ieunes & sains, comme ceulx qui auoir trauffer plusieurs mers,& vndoyantes flottes de mer,arriuent au port avec plus grãd aise, que les encores cōmenceans a esprouuer les perilleux dāgiers de la longue nauigation n'agueres commencée. Et ne fault crandre qu'a ce port,& point de la Mort,ait aucū mal. Car mesmes c'est la fin de tous maux, qui se souffre & passe en vng moment d'oeil. Et pourtant, tesmoing le mesme C



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cero, on liët que Clcobôle, & Biton furent filz d'une renom-
me dame, laquelle estoit prestresse de la Deesse Iuno, & ad-
uenant le iour de la grande solennite de celle Deesse, lesdictz
ensans appareillerent vng chariot, auquel ilz vouloiët mener
au temple la Prestresse leur mere. Car la coustume des Grecz
estoit, que toutesfoys que les Prestres debuoient offrir solen-
nelz sacrifices, ou ilz debuoient estre portez des gens, ou sur
chariotz, tant prisoient ilz leurs prestres, que silz eussent mys
le pied a terre, de tout le iour ne cōsentoyent quilz eussent
offert aucun sacrifice. Aduint en apres, que celle Prestresse
cheminant sur le chariot, que les cheuaulx, qui le cōduisoient
tomberent mortz soubdainement au milieu du chemin, &
loing du temple bien dix mille. Ce voyant ses enfans, & que
leur Mere ne pouuoit aller a pied, & q̄ le chariot ne pouuoit
estre menè par nul aultre bestial (Car là n'en auoit point) ilz
determinerent de se mettre au lieu des cheuaulx, & de tirer le
chariot, comme silz fussent bestes, tellement que tout ainsi que
leur Mere les porta neuf moys en son ventre, Semblablement
ilz la porterent en ce chariot, par le pays iusques au temple,
ce que voyant la grande multitude du peuple, qui venoit a
ceste solennité, sen esmeruellerēt grandement. Et disoient ces
ieunes enfans estre dignes dung grand guerdon. Et en verite
ilz le meritoient. Apres que celle feste fut acheuée, ne saichant
la Mere avec quoy tatisfaire a ses enfans d'ũ si grãd merite,
Pria la Deesse Iuno, qu'il luy pleust donner a ces enfans la
meilleure chose que les Dieux peuuent donner a leurs chers
amys. Ce que la Deesse luy accorda volentiers pour vne si
Heroique oeuvre. Parquoy elle feit que lesdictz enfans s'en-
dormirent sains, & au lendemain on les trouua mortz. Puis
de cecy a la complainãte Mere dict Iuno. Reallegre toy. Car

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la plus grande vengeance que les Dieux peuuent prendre de leurs ennemys, c'est de les faire longuement viure. Et le plus grand bien duquel fauorisons noz amys, c'est de les faire tost mourir. Les autheurs de ceste histoire sont Hizenarque en sa Politique, & Cicero au p̄mier de la Tusculane. Le semblable en print a Triphone, & Agamendo. Lesquelz pour auoir r'edifié ce ruynant temple d'Apollo, qui en l'isle de Delphos estoit tant solēnel, auoir requis audict Apollo pour leur guerdon, la chose meilleure de laquelle les humains ont besoyn, les feit soudainement mourir tous deux au sortir de soupper a l'entree dudit temple. L'ay volentiers amené ces deux exemples, affin que tous les mortelz congnoissent qu'il n'y a bon estat en ceste vie, sinon quand il est paracheué. Et si la fin de viure n'est fauoreuse, au moins elle est moult prouffitabile. Pourtant ne s'en fault doulour, plaindre ne craindre la Mort. Tout ainsi qu'un viateur seroit grandement imprudent, si chemināt en suant par le chemin, se mettoit a chanter, & puis pour auoir acheue sa iournee, cōmenceoit a plorer. Pareille folie seroit vng naugant, si estoit marry d'estre arriue au port: ou celluy qui dōne la bataille, & sospire par la victoire par luy obtenue. Donc trop plus est imprudent & fol celluy, qui cheminant pour aller a la Mort, luy fache de l'auoir rencōtree. Car la Mort est le veritable refuge, la santé parfaite, le port assure, la victoire entiere, la chair sans os, le poisson sans espine, le grain sans paille. Finablement apres la Mort n'auons pourquoy plourer, ne riens moins a desirer. Au tēps de l'Empereur Adrian mourut vne Dame fort noble, parée de l'Empereur, a la Mort de laquelle vng Philosophe feit vne oraison, en laquelle il dict plusieurs maux de la vie, & plusieurs biens de la Mort. Et ainsi que l'Empereur l'interroguait, quelle chose



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chose estoit la Mort. Respondit. La Mort est vng eternal sommeil, vne dissolution du Corps, vng espouuëtement des riches, vng desir des pouures, vng cas ineuitable, vng pelerinage incertain, vng larron des homes, vne Mere du dormir, vne vmbre de vie, vng separement des viuans, vne compaignie des Mortz. Finablement la Mort est vng bourreau des mauuais, & vng souuerain guerdon des bons. Aufquelles bonnes perolles deburoit on continuellement penser. Car si vne goutiere d'eue penetre par cōtinuatiō vne dure pierre, aussi par continuele meditation de la Mort il n'est si dur, qui ne s'amolisse. Seneque en vne epistre racomp̃te d'ung Philosophe, auquel quand on luy demanda, quel mal auoit en la Mort que les hommes craignoiēt tant. Respondit. Si aulcun dommaige, ou mal, se trouue en celluy, qui meurt, n'est de la propriete de la mort; mais du vice de celluy, qui se meurt. Semblablement nous pouuons dire, qu'ainsi comme le sourd ne peult iuger des parolles, ne l'aveugle des couleurs, tāt peu peult celluy, qui iamais ne gousta la Mort, dire mal de la Mort. Car de tous ceulx, qui sont mortz, nul ne se plaint de la Mort, & de ceulx qui sont viuans, tous se plaignent de la vie. Si aulcun des mortz tournoit par decā parler avec les viuans, & comme q̃i l'a experimenté, nous disoit s'il y a aulcū mal en la Mort, ce seroit raison d'en auoir aulcū espouuentement. Pourtant si vng homme, qui n'ouyt, ne vëit, ne sentit, ne gousta iamais la Mort, nous dict mal de la Mort, pour celā, debuons nous auoir horreur d'elle. Quelque grād mal doibuer auoir faict en la vie ceulx, qui craignēt, & disent mal de la Mort. Car en celle derniere heure, & en ce extreſme iugement, c'est là, ou les bons sont congneuz, & les mauuais descouuertz. Il n'y a Roys, Empereurs, Princes, Cheualiers, ne riches, ne pouures, ne sains, ne malades, ne heureux, ne infor-

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tenez, ne ie ne veoy nul qui viue en son estat content, fors ceulx, qui sont mortz: qui en leurs sepulchres sont en paix, & en repos paisiblement, là, ou ilz ne sont auaricieux, couuoiseux, superbes ne subiectz a aucuns vices, en sorte, que lestat des mortz doibt estre le plus alleuré, puis qu'en c'est estat ne voyōs aulcū mescōtēremēt. Aps ceulx, qui sōt poures, chers chēt pour senrichir. Les tristes pour se resioir. Les malades pour auoir santé. Mais ceulx, qui ont de la Mort tāt de crainte, ne cherchent aucun remede pour n'en auoir peur. Par quoy ie cōseillerois sus cecy que lon s'occupast a bien viure, pour non craindre tant la Mort. Car la vie innocent faict la Mort alleurée. Interrogué le diuin Platon de Socrates, cōme il estoit porté avec la vie, & cōme il se porteroit en la Mort. Respondit. Scaches Socrates, qu'en ma ieunesse trauaillay pour bien viure, & en la vieillesse taschay a bien mourir. Et ainsi que la vie a esté honneste, iespere la Mort avec grand allegresse, & ne tiens peine a viure, ne tiendray crainte a mourir. Telles porolles furēt pour certain dignes dung tel hōme. Fort sont courrouffez les gens quand ilz ont beaucoup trauaillé, & on ne leur paye leur sueur. Quand ilz sont fideles, & on ne correspond a leur loyauté, quand a leurs grans seruices les amys sont ingrätz. O biēheureux ceulx qui meurēt, ausquelz telles defortunes ne sont aduenues, & qui sont en la sepulture sans ces remortz. Car en ce diuin tribunal se garde a tous tant esgallemēt la iustice, que au mēme lieu, que nous meritions en la vie, en icelluy sommes colloquez apres la Mort. Iamais n'y eut, ne à, n'y aura Iuge tant iuste, que rendit le guerdon par poix, & la peine par mesure. Car aucunes fois sont pugniz les Innocentz, & absoulz les coupables. Mais il n'est ainsi en la Mort. Car chascū se doit tenir pour certain, que si lon a là bon droict que lon obtiendra sentence a son prouffit. Plutharque en ses Apothegmates recite, q̄ au tēps que le grand Caron estoit censeur a Rome, mourut vng rea



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nommé Romain, lequel monstra a la mort vne grande fortitude & constance: & ainsi que les autres le louoient de son immuable & intrepide cuer, & des constantes parolles, qu'il disoit trauaillant a la Mort. Cato Censorin s'en rioit de ceulx, qui tant louoient ce mort, qui tant estoit alieure, & qui prenoit si bien la Mort en gre, leur disant, Vous vous espouuetez de ce, que ie ris de ce, que vous vous espouuetez. Car considerez les trauaux, & perilz, avec lesquelz passons ceste miserable vie, & la seurte, & repos avec lesquelz nous mourons. Le dy qu'il est besoing de plus grand effort pour viure, que de hardiesse & grand courage pour mourir. Nous ne pouuons nyer que Caton ne parla fort saigement, puis que nous voyons tous les iours, voire aux personnes vertueuses, endurer fain, soif, froit, fascherie, pouurete, calūnies, tristesses, inimitiez, & infortunes. Toutes lesquelles choses vaudroit mieubx venir leur fin en vng iour, q̄ de les souffrir a chascune heure. Car moindre mal est vne mort honeste que vne vie annuyee. O Cōbiē sōt icōsiderez ceulx qui ne pēsent qu'ilz nont q̄ a mourir vne fois, puis que a la verité, q̄ des le iour q̄ naissons cōmēce nostre Mort, & au dernier iour acheuons de mourir. Et si la Mort n'est autre chose, sinon finir la vigueur de la vie. Raisonnable sera de dire, q̄ nostre enfance mourut, nostre ieunesse mourut, nostre virilité mourut, & meurt, & mourra nostre vieillesse. Desquelles raisons pouuons recueillir, que nous mourons chascun an chascue moys, chascue iour, chascue heure, & chascue momēt. En sorte que pensans passer la vie sēure, La Mort vā tousiours en embusche avec nous. Et ne puis scauoir, pourquoy on s'espouuēte si fort de mourir, puisque des le poinct qu'on vient a naistre, en ne cherche autre chose que la Mort. Car on n'eut iamais faulte de temps pour mourir, ne iamais nul ne sceut errer, ou faillir le chemin de la Mort. Senecque en vne lienne epistre copre:



AVTHORITEZ

qu'a vne Romaine plorant son filz qui luy estoit mort fort ieune, luy dict vng Philosophe. Pourquoi pleures tu? O Dame, ton enfant? Elle luy respondit. Je pleure, pource qu'il ne vesquit que quinze ans, & ie desirois quil eut vescu cinquante. Car nous meres aymons tant noz enfans, que iamais ne sommes saoules de les veoir, ne iamais cessons de les plorer. Alors luy dict ce Philosophe. Dy moy ie te prie Dame. Pour quoy ne te plains tu des Dieux, pour n'auoir fait naistre ton filz plusieurs ans. au parauant, comme tu te plains, qu'ilz ne l'ont laise viure aultre cinquante ans? Tu pleures qu'il mourut deuant Eage? & tu ne plores qu'il nasquit tant tard. Je te dy pour vray que si tu ne m'accordes de ne te contrister pour l'ung tant peu doibtz tu pleurer pour l'autre. A cecy se cõformant Pline disoit, en vne Epistre: que la meilleure loy que les Dieux auoient donnẽe a l'humaine nature, estoit que nul n'eut la vie perpetuelle. Car avec le desordõne desir de viure longuement iamais ne tascherions de sortir de ceste peine. Disputans deux Philosophes deuant l'Empereur Theodosien, l'ung desquelz sesforçoit dire, qu'il estoit bon se procurer la Mort. Et l'autre semblablement disoit estre chose necessaire abhorrir la vie. Respondit le bon Theodose. Nous aultres mortelz sõmes tãt affectiõnez a aymer, & a abhorrir, que soubz couleur de moult aymer la vie, nous nous donõs fort mauuaise vie. Car nous souffrons tant de choses pour la conseruer, qu'il vaudroit mieulx aulcune foys la perdre. Et si dys dauantage. En telle folleie sont venuz plusieurs hommes vains, q̃ aussi par craincte de la Mort procurent de l'accelerer. Et pensant a cecy, serois d'aduis, que nous n'aymissions trop la vie, ne qu'avec desespoir ne cherchissions par trop la Mort. Car les hõmes fors & virilles, ne deburoient abhorrir de viure tant quilz pourront, ne trairdre la Mort quand elle



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leur aduiendra. Tous louèrent ee, que dict Theodose: cōme le recite en sa vie Paule Diacre. Or disent tous les Philosophes ce qu'ilz voudront: que a mon petit iugement il me semble, que celluy seul recepura la mort sans peine, leq̃l long temps au parauant se sera appareille pour la receuoir. Car toutes mortz soubdaines ne sont seulement ameres a ceulx, qui la goustēt: Mais aussi espouēte ceulx qui en ouyēt parler. Disoit Lactance, que l'homme doit viure en telle maniere, cōme s'il debuoir mourir dens vne heure. Car les hōmes, qui tiennent la Mort, ou son image deuant les yeux, est impossible qu'ilz dōnent lieu aux mauuaises pensées. A mon aduis, & a l'aduis d'Apullie pareille folie est de vouloir fuyr ce, qui ne se peult euitier, cōme de desirer ce, qu'on ne peult auoir. Et ie dy cecy pour ceulx qui reffusent le voyage de la Mort, de qui le chemin est necessaire. Pourtant a le fuyr est impossible. Ceulx qui ont a faire vng grand chemin, si leur fault quelque chose par le chemin, ilz empruntent de leurs compaignons: & s'ilz oublient quelque chose au logis, ilz escriuent que l'on le leur enuoye. Pourtāt i'ay dueil de ce, que, puisque vne fois sommes mortz, qu'on ne nous laisse retourner. Ne nous ne pourrons parler, & ne nous sera permys d'escripre. Car telz, quelz nous serōs trouuez, pour telz serons sentēciez. Et que est plus terrible que tout, c'est que l'execution, & la sentēce se donnera tout en vng iour. Parpuoy ie cōseille a tous les mortelz que nous viuons en telle maniere, qu'a l'heure de la Mort puissions dire, que nous viuons, non que nous auons vescu. Car qui n'a bien vescu, il vaudroit mieulx n'auoir eu vie, qui ne sera pour riens compte vers Dieu immortel, qui est immortel, pour apres ceste mortelle vie nous faire immortelz comme luy, Auquel soit gloire, & honneur au siecle des siecles. Amen.

DE LA NECESSITE

de la Mort qui ne laisse riens estre pardurable.



DVIS QVE DE LA Mort auons
mōstré, & les ymaiges, & les admirables &
salubres effectz, Il fault aussi pour ceulx, q
trop assurez ne la craignēt & n'en font co
pte, bailler qlque esguillō de la siēne ineuita
ble fatalite. Dōt ie m'esbahis cōmēt il peult
estre, q la memoire de la Mort soit si loing
taine de la pensēe de plusieurs, veu qu'il n'ya riens, q iournal
lemēt se represente tant deuāt noz yeux. Pour le premier les
Mortelz ne sōt ilz appelez de ce vocable de Mort: Parquoy
il est impossible de nous nōmer, que noz oreilles ne nous ad
mōnestēt de la Mort. Quelle lethargie est cela: Mais de quel
le assurece (affin que ie ne dye insolēce) peult venir, qu'on y
pēse si peu: Auons nous tāt beu de ce fleuve Lethes, que lon
dict fleuve d'obliuion, que de ce qui ne cesse de se ingerer en
noz pensēes, n'en ayōs memoire, ne souuenāce: Sōmes nous
si en pierres endurciz, qu'en voyant, & ouyant tāt de Mortz
en ce mōde, pensōns qu'elle ne nous doibue iamais surprē
dre: En voyōs nous vng seul des Anciens, qui soit sur terre
En nostre tēps mēmes, en voit on vng auq̄l la Mort pardō
ne. Les Maieurs sen sont allez. Et leur cōuient bien ce dict
de Cicero, Ilz ont vescu, & nous sans aucune difference allōs
apres eulx, & nostre posteritē nous suyura. Et a la sorte du rā



DE LA NECES. DE LA MORT.

uissant torrēt, en Occidēt sommes precipitez. Au milieu des occisions des mourās moribūdes sommes aueuglez. Et combien que ayons vne mesme condition & vne mesme fatalité des nostre naissance, nous ne craignons d'y paruenir. Le ieune personaige dira. A quoy m'admōnestes tu de pēser a la Mort pour me faire perdre toutes le ioyes de ce mōde? Mon Eage est encores entier, Il s'en fault beaulcoup. que ie n'aye la teste grisē, que le front ne me soit ride. Ceulx craignēt la Mort, qui sont chenuz, & decrepitēs. Mais a tel fault respōdre, Quel des dieux t'a promis de venir chaulue, & ridē? Si lon ne veoyt les vieillardz estre mys en sepulture, ie dirois qu'il ne faudroit iusques en vieillesse, penser ala Mort. Mais puis qu'elle vient & rait en tout Eage, voire estainēt les nō encōr nez, les gardant plus tost de venir en vie, q̄ les en ostar. Si des māmelles de leurs meres, elle les vient souuent rair, si elle ne faict difference a sexe, a l'Eage, a beaultē a laydeur. Si lon voit plus de ieunes gēs, que de vieux porter a la sepulture, ie ne scay quel le ieunesse, ou aultre abus mondain nous pourra asseurer. Voulez vous oultre les simulachres, icy la dessus figurez de la Mort, que ie vous en monstre vng naturel, cler, & manifeste. En la Prime verē contemplez vng florissant arbre, qui est tant couuert de fleurs, qu'apeine y peult on voir ne branches ne fucilles, promectant au voir de si espesses, & belles fleurs, si grāde habōdance de fruiēt, qu'il semble impossible trouuer lieu, assez ample pour les recueillir, Mais d'ung si grāt nōbre de fleurs peu en viennent a biē. Car vne partie est rōgēe des Chenilles, l'autre est des Yraignes corripue. Vne part du vēt, ou de la gelēe, l'autre de la pluye est abattue. Et ce qu'en reste, & qui est formē en fruiēt, a vostre aduis viēt il tout a bōne maturite. Certes nō. Plusieurs fruiēt sont mangēz des vers, les aultres sont abatruz des ventz, & gastēz de

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Tempeste. Aucuns sont pourriz par trop grande pluye. Et plusieurs par infinitz aultres incōueniens meurēt. Tellement qu'a la fin d'une si riche esperāce, on n'en recoit q̄ biē peu de pōmes. Nō de moindres incōueniens est persecutēe la vie humaine. Il ya mille nōs de maladies, mille cas fortuitz de Mort, par leſquelz la Mort en raut plus deuāt Eage, qu'elle ne faiēt par maturite de tēps. Et a peine entre cent, en ya il vng qui meure naturellement. C'est adire, a qui l'humour radicalle ne ayt este abbreuee, ou gastēe par excès. Et veu q̄ a tant de perilz de Mortz est exposēe la vie des mortelz, quel aueugillēmēt est cela de viure aīsi, cōme si no^s ne debuiōs iamais mourir: le vo^s demāde, Si les ēnemys estoīēt a nostre porte pour nous dōner l'assault, iriōs no^s alors p̄parer baings, & bāquetz pour no^s gaudir? Et la Mort est a no^s plus capitale ennemye, qui en toute place, a toute heure, en mille embusches est apres pour no^s surprēdre. Ce pendāt no^s ne nous en souciōs. Nous nous mirons a nostre Or, Argent & a noz biens. Nous ne soucions de biē nous nourrir, cōuoitons honneurs, dignitez, & offices. Certes si no^s pēsiōs biē a ce q̄ le prophete no^s dict en la personne du Roy malade, Disposē a ta maison, Car tu mourras incōtinēt. Toutes ces vanitez musardes no^s seroiēt ameres. Les choses p̄cieuses nous sembleroiēt viles: les nobles ordes. Et la Mort figurēe, si elle scauoit parler, diroit, A quoy o Auaricieux, amassēs tu tāt de trefors, puisque tost t'emporteray tout. A quoy pour vng si brief chemin p̄pares tu tant de baguaige. As tu oublyē ce, qu'il aduit a ce sor Euāgelique: auquel se resiouissant de ses greniers biē rempliz & s'en promettāt grād chere, fut dict, Soit, ceste nuit on te osterā l'ame. Et ces choses par toy amassēes a qui seront elles? Au iour de la Mort, que te restera il de toutes ces choses, pour leſquelles aquerir, tu as consumē tout ton Eage: Dou prendras tu ayde confort,

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confort, & secours: Aux richesses: Elles n'y peuent riens, & delia elles ont aultres Seigneurs. Aux voluptez: Mais icelles, cōme avec le corps elles sont accrues, aussi avec le corps elles meurēt. Recourra lon aux forces de ieunesse, las a vng chascū sa vieillesse est vne Mort. Ou aura lon espoir, a la grace de beaulte, par laq̃lle enorguilliz, on attiroit chascū a sō amour: Mais tout celā a la mode des Rozes, qui troussées es doigtz incōtinēt sont flacques, & mortes, Ainsi beaulte, cueille par la Mort icōtinēt se flétrit. Mais q̃ dy ie flétrit: Mais qui plus est, deuient en horreur. Car nul n'ayma tant la forme du viuā, cōme il ā en horreur le corps estainēt d'ung trespassé. Brief la gloire ne nous y pourra alors seruir. Car elle est tsvanoye avec fortune, & prosperité. Ne moins to^s res amys. Car alors n'ā vng si fidele, qui ne r'abandōne. Et dequoy te seruira, filz se rompent les poitrines a force de plourer, si finablement ilz se sont cōpaignōs de la Mort: Les maux qu'ilz s'ameinēt, ne se peuuent de Mort deliurer. Soyōs dōc saiges de bōne heure, & appareillons les cnōses, par lesquelles garniz au iour de la Mort, assuremēt puissiōs attēdre ce dernier iour. Les richesses, les voluptez, noblesse, qui aultre foyz nous auoiet pleu, & este vtilles, certes a no^s mourās ne sont qu'en charge, & en en nuy. Et alors vertu nous acōmēce a estre en vsage. Elle nous accōpaigne sans no^s pouuoir estre ostée, & si nous en sōmes biē garniz. Certes c'est alors, q̃ les vertus seruent. C'est alors qu'il est besoing q̃ l'hōme mōstre sa vertu, sa cōstāce, & sa magnanimité, pour cōbatre cōtre le monde, la Mort, & Sathan, qui luy presenterōt imāges trop plus horribles que celles cy dessus peinctes & descriptes. Lā sont representez tous les pechez. La terrible iustice de Dieu. La face de desesperatiō. mais quoy: A l'exēple de nostre Seignr Iesuchrist, qui en la Croiz auoir heu semblables faces de tentarions, quād on luy disoit,



DE LA NECESSITE

Vah qui destruis le Temple, Il faulue les aultres. & ne se peult sauluer, Sil est filz de Dieu qu'il descède, n'aduisoit & ne l'arrestoit a toutes ces choses: Mais a Dieu son pere, auq̃l il recōmanda son esperit. Semblablemēt par vne ferme foy, & confiance, fault regecter routes ces tētatiōs, n'auoir regard a noz merites, ou demerites: mais seullemēt dresser sa pensée, a la misericorde de Dieu, laquelle seule peult adoucir l'amertume qu'on dict estre en la Mort, & vaincre plus, que toutes noz forces, & noz ennemys.

Peu de gens, osent dire aux malades
la verite, bien qu'ilz congnoissent
qu'ilz sen vont mourir.



Est vne piteuse chose, & en doibt on auoir grande compassion de ceulx, qui maladians sen vont mourir. Non pource que nous les voyons mourir: mais pource qu'il n'y a ame, qui leur dye ce, qu'ilz ont a faire, ne cōment ilz doibuent disposer pour eulx, & pour leurs successeurs. Et certes, alors les princes, & gr̃s seigneurs, sont en plus grans perilz quand ilz meurēt, que le petit populaire, tant par la faulte des medecins, la grande turbe desquelz perturbe si biē l'ung l'autre, quilz ne scaiēt qu'ilz font: & quelques foys, ou par peur de desplaire les vngs aux aultres, ou par crainte, que si tout seul opinoit, selon la verité de la medicine, & que Dieu voulust prendre ce Seigneur, ilz laissent a leur ordonner medecine conuenable, & souffrent par dissimulation leur en estre baillée vne non conuenable, mais du tout contraire a la santé du patient. Pareillement les assistans au pres du Seigneur malade ne leur osent dire, qu'il s'en va mourir, & beaucoup moins luy dīront ilz, cōment il

DE LA MORT.

fault qu'il meure. Cōme lon recite de ce fol dun Roy qui entendant dire aux medecins, & assistās aupres dudiect seigneur estant au liēt de la Mort, qu'il s'en alloit, le fol s'en alla incontinent houzer, & esperonner, s'apprestant pour s'en aller avec son Roy, au quel il vint dire: Sire, cōment va cela? t'en veulx tu aller sans moy? Toutes tes gens disent q̄ tu t'en vas, & toutesfoiz ie n'en veois nul apparik. Certes plus profita la folie de ce fol au Roy, que la faulx, & cauteleuse saigesse des gēs de sa court. Retournant a propos, Plusieurs vont veoir les malades, lesquelz pleust a Dieu qui ne les lassent visiter. Car voyās le malade auoir les yeux enfoncez, la charneure desséchée, les bras sans pouls, la collere enflābée, la chaleur continue, l'irreposable tourmēt, la langue grosse, & noire, & les espritz vitaulx cōfumez, & finablement voyār sō corps ia presque cadaueré, encores luy disent ilz, qu'il aye bonne esperāce qu'il a encores plusieurs bons signes de vie. Et comme ainsi soit que les ieunes gens desirent naturellement de viure, & qu'a tous vieillardz leur soit peine de mourir, quand ilz se veoyēt en celle extreme heure il n'est medecine, ne secours, ne remede, qu'ilz ne cherchent, n'esperance, en qui ilz ne se reconfortent pour prolōger le vie. Et de la sensuir que les chetifz meurent bien souuent, sans confession, sans recevoir leurs sacrementz, & sans ordonner, qu'on repare les maux par eulx faictz, & les tortz qu'ilz tiēent d'autrui. O si ceulx, qui font telles choses, scauoient le mal qu'ilz font, ilz ne cōmettroient iamais vne si grande faulte. Car de me oster mes biens, persecuter ma personne, denigrer ma renommée, ruyner ma maison, destruire mō parētage, scādalizer ma famille, criminer ma vie, ces ouures sōt dūg cruel ennemy. Mais d'estre occasion, q̄ ie perde mō ame, pour nō la cōseiller au besoing, c'est vne oeuvre dūg diable d'Enfer. Car pire est q̄ vng

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diablen l'hōme, qui trompe le malade: Auquel au lieu de luy ayder se met a l'abuser, a luy promettre qu'il ne mourra pas. Car pl⁹ conuenable est alors luy dōner cōseil pour la cōscien ce, que de luy dire parolles plailātes pour le corps. Nous som mes en toutes choses desuergongnez auct noz amys durāt la vie, & si nous nous faisons vergoigneux avec eulx a la Mort, ce qu'on ne deburoit iamais faire. Car si les trespassez ne fussent mortz, & si nous ne voyōs les p⁹sentz tous les iours mourir, il me semble q̄ ce seroit hōte, & chose espouuētable de dire au malade q̄ luy seul doit mourir. Mais puy q̄ vo⁹ scauez que luy, & luy aulli bien que vo⁹, q̄ tous cheminōs par ceste peril leuse iournēe, quelle vergoigne, ou craincte doit on auoir, de dire a sō amy, qu'il est ia ala fin d'icelle iournēe? Si au iours d'huy les mortz resuscitoient, ilz se plaindroiēt merueilleuse mēt de leurs amis, nō pour aultre chose, q̄ pour ne leur auoir dōné bō cōseil a l'heure de la Mort. Et n'y a aucun dāger de les biē cōseiller a soy p⁹parer biē qu'ilz s'en estonnēt. Pour aul tant q̄ nous en voyōs plusieurs qui en ont faiēt leur debuoir qui appareillez de mourir, eschappēt biē, Et mourir ceulx, q̄ n'en auoiēt faiēt aucune p⁹paratiō. Quel dōmaige font ceulx, qui vōt visiter leurs amys malades, de leur dire, qu'ilz se consessent, qu'ilz facent leur testamēt, qu'ilz disposent de tout ce, dōt ilz se sentēt chargez, qu'ilz recoiuent les sacremēs, qu'ilz se recōciliēt avec leurs ennemys: Pour certain toutes ces choses ne font ne plus tost mourir, ne plus lōguemēt viure. Iamais ne fut aueuglissēmēt tant aueuglé, ne ignorāce tant crasse cō me d'auoir crainte, ou honte de cōseiller aux malades ausq̄lz on est obligé, ce qu'ilz ont affaire, ou qlz feroiēt, s'ilz estoiēt sains. Les hōes prudētz, & saiges, auant q̄ nature leur defaille, ou les cōtraigne a mourir, ilz doiuent de leur bō grē, & frāche volūtē mourir, Cestascavoir, q̄ deuāt qu'ilz se voyēt en celle



DE LA MORT.

estroicte heure, tiennēt ordōnées les choses de leur cōscience. Car si nous tenōns pour fol celuy, qui veult passer lamer sans nauire, tiēdrons nous pour saige celluy, qui n'a nul appareil pour passer de ce monde en l'autre? Que pert vng homme d'auoir ordōne de son cas, & faict son testamēt, de bōne heure? En q̄l aduēture met il son honneur de soy recōcilier auant qu'il meure avec ceulx ausq̄lz auoit hayne ou querelle? Quel credit pert celluy qui restitue en la vie, ce qu'il mādē restituer ap̄s sa mort? En quoy se peult mōstrer vng hōme plus saige, que a se descharger de son bon gre, de ce, que apres sa Mort on le deschargera par force de proces: O cōbien de grās personages, & de riches peres de famille, q̄ pour na' uoir occupé vng seul iour a ordōner de leur cas, & faire leur testamēt, ont faict aller leurs heritiers, & successeurs, apres plaid, & proces toute leur vie: en sorte que p̄sāns, qu'ilz laissent des biens pour nourrir leurs heritiers, ne les ont laisse q̄ pour clerz, procureurs, & aduocatz. L'homme qui est bon, & non feinct Chrestien, doibt en telle maniere ordōner son cas, & corriger sa vie chasque matinée, cōment s'il ne debuoit paruenir iusq̄s a la nuict, ou cōme s'il ne debuoit veoir l'autre matinée suivante. Car parlant a la verité pour soustenir nostre vie il y a plusieurs trauaux: Mais pour choquer avec la Mort, il n'y a que vng hurt. Si lō dōnoit foy a mes parolles, je cōseillerois a toute personne, qu'il n'osast viure en tel estat, au q̄l pour tout lor du monde il ne voudroit mourir. Les riches, & les pouures, les grans, & les petitz disent trestous, & iurent, qu'ilz ont peur de la Mort. Ausquelz ie dy, que de celluy seul pouuons nous avec verité dire quil crainct a mourir, auquel ne voyōs faire aultun amēdemēt de sa vie. Parquoy tous se doiuent acheuer deuant qu'ilz s'acheuēt, finir auāt qu'ilz finissent, Mourir deuant qu'ilz meurēt, & s'enterrer auant qu'on les enterre.

DE LA NECESSITE

Car silz acheuent cecy avec eulx, avec telle facilité laisserōt la vie, cōme ilz se mueroient d'une maison en vne aultre. Pour la plus grād partie taschent les hōmes parler de loisir, aller de loisir, boire a loisir, māger a loisir: seulement au mourir l'hōme veult estre presse. Nō sans cause dy, qu'au mourir les hōmes sont hastifz & pressifz: puisque les voyōs faire leur descharge a haste, ordōner leur testamēt a haste, se cōfesser a haste, se cōmuniquer a haste, en sorte quilz le prenent & demandēt tant tard, & tant sans raison, que plus prouffite ceste haste a tous aultres, qu'a la saluation de leurs ames. Que prouffite le gouuernail, quand la nauire est submargée? Que prouffitent les armes apres que la bataille est rompue? Que prouffitent les emplāstres, ou medicines, quād les hōmes sōt mortz? Le veult dire, dequoy sert aux malades, apres quilz sont hors du sens, ou quilz ont perdu les sentimēs, appeller les p̄stres pour les cōfesser. Tresmal, certes se pourra cōfesser celluy qui n'a iugement de se repentir. Ne s'abusent les gens disans quand nous ferons vieulx nous nous amenderons. Nous nous repētrons a la Mort. A la mort nous nous cōfesserōs. A la mort ferons restitution. Car a mōn aduis cela n'est d'ung hōme sage, ne d'ung bon Chrestien, demāder qu'il aye reste de temps pour pecher, & q̄ le tēps luy faille pour soy amēder. Pleust a Dieu que la tierce part du tēps, que les gens occupent seulement en penser cōme ilz pecherōt, qu'ilz l'occupassent a pēser, cōme ilz doibuent mourir. Et la sollicitude qu'ilz employēt pour accomplir leurs mauuais desirs, s'employa a plourer du cueur leurs pechez. Dont c'est grād malheur, q̄ avec si peu de soucy passent la vie en vices & mōdanitez; cōme s'il n'y auoit point de Dieu, qui quelque iour leur en doibue demāder compte. Tout le mōde a bride auallée peche: avec esperāce qu'en vieil lessē ilz se amēderont, & qua la Mort ont-ā soy repētir, dont

DE LA MORT.

Je voudroye demâder a celluy qui avec telle cōfiance cōmet le peche. Quelle certainete il a de venir en vieillesse, & quelle assurâce il a d'auoir loisir a la Mort de soy repentir. Car par experiēce nous voyons plusieurs, ne venir a vieillesse, & plusieurs qui meurēt soubdainemēt. Il n'est raisonnable ne iuste que nous cōmettions tant de pechez toute nostre vie, & que ne vueillons que vng iour, ou vne seule heure pour les plorez & s'en repentir. Combien que si grande soit la diuine clemēce, qu'il souffise a vng personaige d'auoir vne seule heure pour soy repētir de sa mauuaise vie. Toutesfois avec cela ie cōseillerois, que puis que le pecheur pour s'amēder ne veult que vne seule heure, que ceste heure ne fut la derriere. Car le sospir qui se faict avec bone voulētē, & de bon grē, penetre les cieux. Mais celluy qui se faict par cōtraincte & necessitē, a peine passe, il la couuerture de la maïso. C'est chose louable q̄ ceulx qui visitēt les malades, leur cōseillent qu'ilz se cōfessent, qu'ilz se cōmuniq̄ent, rendēt leurs deuotions, sospirēt pour leurs pechez. Finablemēt c'est tresbiē faict de faire tout cela. Toutesfois il seroit trop meilleur l'auoir faict au parauant, & de bone heure. Car le dextre & curieux marinier quād la mer est calme, alors se appareille & s'appreste il pour la tormente. Celluy qui profondement voudroit considerer, combien peu on doit estimer les biens de ce monde, qu'il aille veoir mourir vng riche personaige, cōment il est en sa chambre, ou il verra comme au chetif malade. La femme demāde son douaire. Lune des filles le tiers. L'autre le quart. Le filz la meilleure part de l'heritaige. Le nepueu vne maison. Le me decim son salaire. L'appoticaire payemēt de ses drogues. Les creanciers leurs debtes. Les seruiteurs leurs gaiges & salaires. Et ce qui est le pire de tout nul de ceulx, qui doibuent heriter, ou en valoir mieulx, est là pour luy bailler vng verre d'eau

DE LA NECESSITE DE LA MORT.

pour boire, ou pour luy rafraichir son alteree bouche. Ceulx qui liront cecy, ou l'orront, doibuent cōsiderer que ce, qu'ilz veirent faire en la Mort de leurs voisins, que ce mesme leur aduiēdra a la leur Mort. Car tout incōtinent qu'ung riche sera re les yeulx, soubdain a grādes querelles entrent les heritiers. Et cecy nō pour veoir qui mieulx se chargera de son Ame: mais qui plus tost prēdra possession des biens qu'il laisse. Par quoy vault trop mieulx en ordōner de bonne heure avec le conseil des sages, qu'ainsi a la haste en ordōner contre raison, & a l'importunitē des desirans, dont puis est causēe querelle & debat entre eulx si grandz & dōmaigeux, qu'ilz en mauldissent le mort, & l'heure que iamais il leur a laisse aucuns biens. On en voit l'experience iournellemēt. Parquoy seroit chose superflue den vouloir occuper le papier. Me cōtentant pour ceste heure, d'aduiser vng chascū qu'il doibt vne Mort a Dieu & nō deux. Parquoy q de bōne heure on face si bōne prouision de la luy biē payer, qu'il nous en redōne en laultre monde celle vie tant bien heureuse, qui ne peut mourir.

Amen.



The Images and
STORIED ASPECTS
OF DEATH BOTH ELEGANTLY
pourtrayed and artiftically
devifed.

*Translated from the French of the Lyons edition
of 1538, by*
HENRY GREEN, M.A.

To which are added
The German Rhymes from
RENTZ'S REMEMBRANCES OF
Death and Eternity.

MANCHESTER,
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M. DCCC. LXIX.





TO THE VERY REVEREND

Abbeſs of the religious convent of S. Peter
at Lyons, Madame Joanna de
Touſzele, Salutation from a
true Zele.



HAVE good hope, Madame, and very religious mother, that at theſe fearful images of Death you will have leſs amazement than any perſon living : and that you will not regard it of bad augury, if to you rather than to any other, they are addreſſed. For at all times, by mortification and aſterity of life,—though transferred by Royal authority to ſo many different cloiſters, and being there the example of religious religion and of reformed reformation,—you have had with Death ſuch familiarity, that in his very pit and ſepulchral dormitory he could not more ſtraitly encloſe you, than in the ſepulchre of the cloiſter, in which you have only buried the body ; but *you have had* heart and ſpirit now and then to look with ſo free and entire a devotion, that you would never wiſh to come forth thence, except like ſaint Paul, in order to go to IESVS CHRIST. The which good IESVS, not without divine providence, has baptized you by name and ſurname into my uniſounding conſonant, except in the ſingle letter T, a letter by fatal ſecret the capital of your ſurname ; and ſo far as it is the character Thau,(1) it is much celebrated among the Hebrews, and among the Latins taken for ſad death. Alſo by ſaint Jerome(2) it is called *the* letter of the croſs and of ſalvation ; marvellouſly agreeing with the ſalutary croſſes borne by all you *who are* zealous for holy religion. The which zealous ones Death has not dared to approach, what-



ever visitations God may have made you by almost continual maladies, in order not to contradict that harbinger Ezekiel, who had marked you with his Thau, a sign prohibitory of all hurtful Death, *and* which makes me believe that you will be among those of whom it is written, that they shall not taste its death-producing bitterness. And as it will be necessary that you reject not those funereal tales of worldly mortality as disagreeable and melancholy, do you, admonished by faint James, look upon the face of your nativity in those mortal mirrors,—in which mortals are mentioned as all subject to Death, & to so many miserable miseries,—in a way that not seeking your own pleasures, you will study to please God, according to the figure related in Exodus, saying, that at the entrance of the Tabernacle there was an arrangement of mirrors, to the end that those entering might in them be able to contemplate themselves; & at the present day there are such spiritual mirrors set at the entrance to Churches, & Cemeteries of old visited by Diogenes, that he might see if among these bones of the dead he could find any difference between rich & poor.

And if Pagans, in order to refrain from doing evil, thus arranged at the entrances of their houses graves and tombs in memory of the mortality prepared for all, ought Christians to have a horror of thinking thereon? The images of death, will they be so frightful in their eyes, that they are not willing either to see them or to hear speak of them? It is the true and proper mirror in which we ought to correct the deformities of sin, and to beautify the Soul. For as saint Gregory says, (3) Whoever considers in what state he will be at Death, will become timorous in all his doings, & as if he will not dare to show himself even to his own eyes: & whoever is not ignorant that he must die, considers himself as already dead. For this cause the perfect life is the imitation of Death, which anxiously achieved by the just,

conducts them to salvation. So to all faithful people these spectacles of Death will be instead of the brazen Serpent, which when looked upon cured the Israelites of the serpent-bites, less venomous than the attacks of concupiscence, by which we are continually assailed.

Here a curious questioner will say:—What figure of Death can be represented by a living person? or, How can those devise it, who have never experienced its inexorable powers? It is very true that the invisible cannot properly be represented by the visible. But exactly as by created and visible things, as is said in the epistle to the Romans, one can see and contemplate the invisible and uncreated God; in like manner by the things into which Death has made irrevocable openings, that is to say, by bodies in sepulchres reduced to carcases and under their monuments stript of flesh, we are able to draw some images of Death—images I name then truly, because image comes from imaging and feigning that which is not. And although one has scarcely ever found any thing more approaching to the likeness of Death than the dead person, one has from this very effigy images and aspects of Death, in order to impress upon our thoughts the memory of Death more to the life, than could all the rhetorical description of orators. For this cause the ancient philosophy was represented in images and figures. And that we may well consider it, all the histories of the Bible are figured only for our more lasting instruction. IESVS CHRIST even, figured he not his doctrine in parables and similitudes, in order the better to impress it on those to whom he preached it? And our holy Fathers, have they not by godly histories figured the greater part of the Bible, *which histories are* still apparent in many churches, as we see them in the Choir of that very venerable Church at Lyons? Truly of that and of other ancient customs *this church* is an admirably



constant observer, and around it the images, there elegantly arranged in relief, serve the illiterate for very useful & contemplative literature. However these furious image-breakers would beat them down,—would to God, that with such or with like images all our churches were covered, and that our eyes should not take pleasure in other more hurtful spectacles.

Then returning to our figured aspects of Death, very greatly do we come to regret the death of him who has here imaged forth for us such elegant figures, that go beyond all those hitherto drawn, even as the paintings of Apelles or of Zeuxis excel the modern. For his funeral histories, with their descriptions strictly rhymed, to those looking on excite such admiration, that from them they judge the dead there to appear very life-like, and the living to be represented very like the dead. Which makes me think that Death, fearing lest this excellent painter should paint him too much alive, so that there should be no more fear of death, & therefore that the painter would himself become immortal,—for this reason, *I say*, Death so accelerated the artist's days, that he was not able to finish many other figures already traced by him: as, that of the wagoner wounded and shoulder-sprained under his overthrown wagon,(4) the Wheels and Horses of which are so frightfully upset, that there is *as* much of horror in seeing their overthrow, as of grace in contemplating the daintiness of a Death, which stealthily sucks with a reed the wine from the fallen tun. To which imperfect histories, as to the matchless heavenly bow named Iris, no one has dared to set the last hand, by reason of the bold strokes, perspectives and shadows comprised in this master piece, and there so gracefully delineated, that we can take in them a delightful sorrow and a sad delight as in a thing sadly joyous.

Boldly let the antiquaries and amateurs of ancient images

cease to seek more ancient antiquity than the portraiture of these Dead persons. For in that portraiture will they see over all the living the Empress invincibly reigning from the beginning of the world. It is she who has triumphed over all the Cæsars, Emperors and Kings. It is truly the Herculean strength, which, not with a club but with a scythe, has mown down and extirpated all the monsters and bold Tyrants of the Earth. Not Gorgons looked upon, nor the head of Medusa in old time, made such strange Metamorphoses nor such divers transformations as the attentive contemplation of these aspects of mortality is able to make.

Now if Severus the Roman emperor, on the testimony of Lampridius,(5) kept in his cabinet the images of Virgil, of Cicero, of Achilles, & of the great Alexander, in order by them to excite himself to virtue, I see not why we ought to abominate those *images* by which we are restrained from sin, and stimulated to all good actions. The little,—but nothing thoughtfully,—which we now attribute to Death, makes me desire another Hegeſias,(6) not to excite us to put violent hands upon ourselves, as he did, when preaching the blessings of Death, but better to desire to arrive at that immortality for which the desperate Cleombrotus cast himself into the sea ; then how are we so much more assured of this blessedness promised to ourselves and not to the Pagans and unbelieving ? At the which since we cannot arrive except by passing through Death, ought we not to embrace, love, contemplate the figure and representation of that by which we go from pain to repose, from Death to life eternal, & from this deceitful world to God the true and infallible, who has formed us in his likeness, to the end that, if we do not deform it, we may be able to contemplate him face to face, when it shall please him to make us pass through that Death which is for the just the most precious thing that he had been able to give.



Wherefore, Madame, you will take in good part this sad but salutary offering ; and you will persuade your devout religious women to keep it not only in their little cells or dormitories, but in the cabinet of their memory, as saint Jerome (7) advises in an epistle, saying : Set up before thine eyes that image of Death in whose day the just will fear no evil, & for that reason *the just* will not be afraid, because he will not hear *the words*, Go to the fire eternal ; but, Come thou blessed of my Father, receive the kingdom prepared for thee from the creation of the world. Wherefore, whoever will be strong despises Death, and the weak man flees it ; but no one can flee Death except he who follows life. Our life is IESVS CHRIST, & it is the life which cannot die. For he has triumphed over Death, in order to make us triumph over it eternally. Amen.

Diuers Pictures of DEATH, NOT PAINTED, but extracted from the holy scripture, coloured by Doctors of the Church, and shaded by Philosophers.



PEAKING in a Christian way concerning Death, I should not know towards whom better to address questions about it, than towards that good S. PAUL, who through so many deaths has come at last to the glory of him who, when triumphing so gloriously over Death, said, O Death, I will be thy Death. Wherefore, *was uttered* that which this intrepid Knight of Death said in the epistle to the Theffalonians.(8) I find that there he calls dying a sleeping, and Death a sleep. And indeed better could he not image it, than by comparing it to sleeping. For as sleep does not extinguish man, but holds the body in repose for a time ; so Death does not destroy man, but deprives his body of its movements & operations. And as the members lulled to sleep when excited by warmth move, live and work ; so our bodies, by the power of God resuscitated, live eternally. No one, indeed, goes away to sleep in order per-



petually to remain on the couch where he sleeps. So no one is buried in order for ever to remain in the sepulchre. And exactly as sleep has the empire and dominion over the body, and not over the soul, — for while the body sleeps *the soul* watches, moves and works, — so is the soul of man immortal, and the body only subject to Death. And Death is nothing else than a separation which the soul makes from the body. The soul then is the life and the immortal spirit of the body, which soul on separating itself leaves the body as if asleep; and the body will awaken when it shall please him who has lordship over soul and body. And one owes not to one's self too much grief for this Christian sleeping, any more than one owes it when any one of our dear friends retires to sleep, expecting that he will awake when he shall have slept enough. Thus there is no need to be sorrowful when any one dies, since, as faint Paul says, it is no other thing than sleep. Wherefore to this purport said a Pagan poet, Whatever sleep may be, perhaps it is only the image of cold Death.

But, in order to reason concerning this Death according to natural philosophy, *we say*: All the life that man lives in this world from his birth up to his death is a growth of nature. In such a way that when man is born from the womb of his mother, he enters the womb of natural life; and this very man dying is again born through natural power; under which propositions is contained all human philosophy. Wherefore laying aside the errors of the Philosophers who affirm the spirit of man to be mortal, let us follow those who, through a better opinion, say that man has two conceptions, and two lives without any death. Now in order to set forth this no trifling Philosophy, worthy indeed of being placed in memory, it is necessary to understand that man, when conceived in the maternal womb, grows in it, and there is maintained by his own Mother, from whom he



takes his entire substance and nourishment, which is the reason why Mothers more tenderly than fathers love their children. On man being born, the natural life receives him into its womb, that is into this world, which then nourishes him and maintains him with its aliments and fruits all the while that he is held in this worldly womb. And as the Mother for the space of nine months strives only to nourish and bring forward her fruit, in order to carry it to the birth and to remit it to the charge of nature in this worldly life ; in like manner, nature, during the time that man remains in this worldly womb, endeavours only to support him and well to maintain him so as to carry him on to maturity, and to make him, when he dies, be born again for the better and more enduring life.

Then at the first birth man denudes himself of the covering in which he was born enveloped. At the second birth he despoils himself of the body ; it is, that the soul may issue from prison, so that what we call Death is only a birth for better life, — for all its births are always going on better and better still. The first growth lasts nine months ; the second commonly an hundred years ; and the third is eternal, because that from the womb of the natural state passing to the divine state, we are maintained by the eternal fruition which renders our life eternal. In the Mother we were human, — our food was human. In the world, living of the worldly state, we are worldly and transitory : but in God we shall be divine, because that our maintenance will be of divine fruition. And exactly as the creature in the womb of its Mother passes many dangers, perils and inconveniences, if the mothers are not well on their guard and directed by women of experience (through want of whom at the delivery often it happens that the creature is born dead, or abortive, or killed, or idiotic, or with some other natural defects, which then last all the life of the creature

thus badly delivered), so not less defects and perils, but too often more pernicious ones, attend the second growth: for if, during the time that we live in the natural state, we do not live well according to God and reason, instead of bringing forth we die, and instead of being born we are annihilated; insomuch that then the Soul, through these defects, not being able to enter into nor to come to the light of the divine state, is engulfed for years in the pestiferous infernal Abyss. And exactly as by the default of experienced nurses who ought wisely to relieve and direct at the time of birth, many creatures die on issuing from the maternal womb;—so, through the fault of good teachers and sponsors at this point and article which we call Death, but which I here call birth, many perish. If then for the first delivery we are so careful to find the most dexterous and expert nurses that we know; for the second, which is Death, ought we not much more to labour for the recovery of wife and holy persons, who know well how to prepare and conduct to a good harbour the fruit of that second birth which is passing from this life to another, so that the creature may arrive there without monstrosity, or the mis-shapen ugliness of sin. And this we should do, because the mistake at this second delivery is for ever incorrigible and unamendable; unlike the first, which often is corrected and readjusted in this world, where natural defects are sometimes as medicines, or, in some other way, aids and succours. And inasmuch as it is a thing of such great importance, it seems to me that it is a great blindness to be so negligent of it and so badly advised.

If any one wishes to fail on the sea, it is marvellous to behold the great preparations of provisions and of other necessities which are made. The people of arms and the soldiers, what care they take in order to be well equipped!

With what anxiety does the merchant go to fairs and markets! What travail and continual labour does the labourer omit in order to gather fruit from his agriculture? What pains do some bestow to serve well, and others to command imperiously! Is it nothing that we do to preserve our bodily health? Indeed, whatever touches or pertains to the body, we procure it for ourselves with anxious care; but for the wretched soul we have neither care nor anxiety. We know very well that one day the soul must be born, and that on its issuing from the womb of the body we have not thought of making ready for it cloth or linen in order to wrap it round,—though these are the good works without which we are not permitted to enter the kingdom of Heaven. The good works, indeed, are the rich vestments and gifts with which David wished the spiritual spouse to be clothed.(9) They are the robes with which saint Paul desires that we should be clothed, to the end that we may walk honestly.

Let us watch then and act as the good Mother does, who, before coming to the term of her delivery, makes preparations and apparel for that event. That apparel is the learning how to die well, which here is called to be born well. Let us clothe ourselves then in the white garment of innocence,—a swaddling cloth dyed red with ardent charity,—a waxen taper of white chastity,—a hood of hope,—a coat of faith, bound with virtues in order to mail us round,—a coral of wisdom, in order to make glad our hearts. And that the divinity may be our nursing Mother, and suckle us from the thrice-sweet breasts of knowledge and of love, let us cleanse ourselves first of all from the filth and evil derived from nature, which is sin, the old Adam, the inclination of the flesh, the rebellion against the spirit. Let us wash ourselves with tears as children that weep at their birth. Let us sanctify ourselves with the



Baptism of repentance, which is the Baptism of the holy spirit. And if during all our life in this world we make such a preparation, whenever the time shall come for the delivery of Death, we shall be born as the saints are born, the Death which we call birth, — for then began they to live.

And inasmuch as these preparations and provisions are not made except by a few people, — so negligent are we in that respect, — and we have only care to be able to have at least a shroud or winding sheet, in order, at the day of death to be enveloped in it, and not to be invested in any robes when the soul shall despoil itself of the body, — *I say*, it appears to me that carelessness so foolish ought to be greatly blamed before God and before men: with the shroud or winding sheet the body is buried in the earth to the end that there every thing may be eaten of worms. And with the robes of the soul, if they are of good works woven, we enter on the glory lasting without end; and for mistake in that, we have neither thought nor care.

For this reason to incite the living to make provision of such robes and vestments, I have not known how to find means more exciting than to place in view these aspects of Death, in order to meet that which may be said to our souls, How have ye come here, not having the wedding robe? But where shall we find these garments? Indeed to those men and those women who from not knowing how to read might remain naked, not having the key to open the treasures of the holy scriptures and of the good Fathers, — to them are presented these sad histories, which will advise them to borrow dresses from those who, in coffers of books, have abundance of them. And this borrowing will not be so laudable in him who shall borrow, as profitable to the lender; and there is not any one so rich as not to have need of such vestments. Witness that which is written in the Apocalypse, at the third chapter.(10) Let us prepare

then (says faint Bernard in one of his sermons), and let us hasten to go to the place more sure, to the field more fertile, to the repast more savoury, to the end that we may dwell without fear, that we may abound without want, & without vexatiousness be fed. To which place Death will conduct us, when He who has conquered him shall be willing in us to make him die. To whom be glory & honour eternally. Amen.



The Images and Storied ASPECTS OF DEATH, TO WHICH ARE ADDED THE German Rhymes from Rentz's Remembrances.

I. THE CREATION.

Genesis I. 27. II. 7. And the LORD GOD formed man of the dust of the ground, — created him in his own image, — male and female created he them.

God first created Heaven, Sea, Earth,
From nothingness to demonstrate his power,
And then out of the earth he created
The man and the woman in his own likeness.

Da wo mein Ursprung hergenommen, Dorthin ist auch mein Lauf geköñen.

Die Erschaffung des Menschen.

*Den Ersten Menschen schuff der Herr, und machte ihn aus Erden,
Nach Seinem Bild, und Eva muß' aus dessen Rippe werden;
Drum mach, O Mensch! daßs sich dein Geist nur stets zu Gott erhebe
Damit der selbe stirbt der Leib, mit Ihm doch ewig lebe.*

II. THE TEMPTATION.

Genesis III. 17. Because thou hast hearkened unto the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of the tree, of which I commanded thee, saying, Thou shalt not eat of it, &c.

ADAM was by EVE deceived,
And against God's command the apple ate ;
For which the two have suffered death,
And mortal every man has since become.

Du wirst dich nur verletzen und ins Verderben setzen.

Der Fall ADAMS und EVÆ.

*Ach ! Adam lasse dich doch nicht zum essen überreden :
Es wird dir dieser Apffel-Biss, so Leib als Seele töden.
Doch ach ! du folgest nicht, und wir sind deine Wahre Kinder
Nach deinem Eben-Bild gezeugt, und meinstens freche Sünder.*

III. THE DRIVING FORTH FROM EDEN.

Genesis III. 23. Therefore the LORD GOD sent him forth from the garden of Eden, to till the ground from whence he was taken.

God drove out the man from pleasantness
On the labour of his hands to live :
Then did Death come to seize him,
And as the consequence all human creatures.

So sehn' ich mich im Elends-Stand, Nach Freiheit und dem Vaterland.

Die Verstoßung des Menschen.

*Dies ist das Unglücks-volle Paar : so aus dem Paradiese,
Durch Hoffarth und durch Eigen-Lieb sich selbst ins Elend stieße.
Und dennoch finden leider ! sich, noch viele Adamiten :
Die fällt sie eine Lust-Seuch an, gar leichte sind bestritten.*

D



IV. THE CURSE UPON EARTH AND ON MAN.

Genesis III. 17-19. Cursed is the ground for thy sake, in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life; . . . till thou return, &c.

Accursed in thy labour be the ground,
Thy life in labour shalt thou spend,
Until that Death shall lay thee under ground;
Dust art thou, and to dust thou shalt return.

Der Betet, Hoffet, Sich bemüht : Ifts so aus mir sich Nutzen zieht.

Über die Verfluchung des Menschen.

*Wie Elend bist du Adam ! doch, durch Ungehorsam worden ?
Das Erdreich bringt dir statt der Frucht, nur Disteln aller Orten.
Wilstu so Kanstu nur durch Schweifs, dein Brod hinyörter essen,
Doch der Versprochne Weibes-Saam macht diese Last vergeffen.*

V. THE CHARNEL HOUSE.

Revelation VIII. 13. Woe, woe, woe, to the inhabitants of the earth.

Genesis VII. 22. All in whose nostrils was the breath of life . . . died.

Unhappy ye who in the world are living
Filled always with adversities ;
For any good which may abound to you,
Yet will ye all be visited by Death.

So liegt des Fleisches Schein und Pracht, als Blumen Gras und Heu veracht.

Über die Gebeine aller Menschen.

*Hier fängt der Todten-Reizh' sich an, Und zwar durch alle Stände,
Hoch Niedrig, Schön, so Reich als Arm, Eilt stets nach seinem Ende.
Drum Lern' aus diesen Beinern dich und deine Schwachheit Kennen ;
So stirbst du wohl, und stirbst doch nicht, wann Leib und Seel' sich trennen.*

VI. THE POPE.

Jofhua XX. 6. . . . until the high priest may die.
Pfalm CIX. 8. . . . and let another take his office.(11)

Thou who dost dream thyself to be immortal
 Shalt soon by Death be hurried far away ;
 And howsoever great a priest thou be,
 Another shall possess thy bishoprick.

Treuer-Hirten großer Lohn, Ist die Schöne Himmels-Cron.

Der Pabst.

*Dir Der im Leben hatte Macht die Sündē zu vergeben,
 Dir sag' ich, wird die Cron geraubt und auch zugleich das Leben :
 Doch jene Crone folgt dafür, die ewig Kan ergötzen,
 Und Dich will Du getreuer Knecht ! Der Herr in Ruhe setzen.*

VII. THE EMPEROR.

Isaiah XXXVIII. 1. Set thine house in order : for thou shalt die and not live.

Isaiah XXII. 18. There shalt thou die, and there shall the chariots of thy glory.

Thine house shalt thou set in order
 As thine own transitory good,
 For where thou in death shalt rest
 Will be the chariots of thy glory.

So müssen Kaiſer-Cronen auch Fall und ſterben frohnen.

Der Kaiſer.

*So wie dein Stal das Bild der Macht, wird auch dein Leben brechen,
 Zwingt schon dein Glück, daßs Ost und West von deinen Thaten sprechen,
 Ja, alle Welt vor deinen Thron muß stehend Frieden bitten-
 Wird doch durch mich im Augenblick, dein Leben abgeſchnitten.*



VIII. THE KING.

Ecclus. x. 10. And he that is to-day a king, to-morrow shall die, for of kings no one had other lot.

So that he who to-day is a king,
To-morrow in the tomb will be shut up.
For no king from all his splendour,
Has been able aught else to carry off.

Auch nicht der Trabanten Schar, setzt den König aus Gefahr.

Der König.

*So wie der König, so der Knecht, eins fließet aus dem andern.
Dem Hirten pflegt in Irre auch die Heerde nach zu wandern.
Drum weil du als zum Vorbild bist zu leicht enfunden worden,
Stößt auch der Kön'ge König dich, aus seinem Königs-Orden.*

IX. THE CARDINAL.

Isaiah v. 23. Woe to them which justify the wicked for reward, and take away the righteousness of the righteous from him.

Evil be yours who justify
The man inhuman and full of malice ;
Through gifts ye pronounce him holy,
And take from the righteous his righteousness.

Er trifft die Ceder auch so, wie den Kleinsten Strauch.

Der Cardinal.

*Du warst ein Großer Cardinal! der Kirchen Stütz-und Säule,
Der Ketzer Gift und Pestilenz und schwehrrer Donner-Keile.
Jedoch, die Loosung trifft dich nun, zu folgen meinem Reijhen ;
Drum magst du deiner Wissenschaft, auf Erden dich verzeihen.*



X. THE EMPRESS.

Daniel IV. 37. . . . and those that walk in pride he is able to abase.

Ye who walk on in pomp of pride,
Death one day will make you yield.
As under your feet ye bend the grafs,
So will he humble you.

Sie ist nothwendig, Doch hier gar unbeständig.

Die Ratiffertn.

*Schaff und verordne was du wilst und dir zum Pracht gefället;
Jedoch es werde auch zugleich vor allem mit bestellet,
Der Bau, in welchem du hinfort wirst unaufhörlich wohnen.
Drum mühe dich der Ewigkeit, dem eitlen nicht zu frohnen!*

XI. THE QUEEN.

Isaiah XXXII. 9, 10. Rife up, ye women, that are at ease; hear my voice . . . Many days and years shall ye be troubled.

Arife ye dames who in wealth abound,
Hear the voice of those passed away.
After many a year and day have passed,
Ye shall be troubled and grieving.

Auch Salomonis Pracht wird ihr nicht gleich geacht.

Die Königin.

*Was ist der Titul König seyn? die Ehr' so Cronen geben?
Ein Neß, wo Sorge Kußer heckt; Ein Marter volles Leben.
Entweich demnach du eitler Tand! so Blumen gleich verschwindet
Mein Hertze sucht was himlisch ist und mich mit Gott verbündet.*



XII. THE BISHOP.

Matthew XXVI. 31. I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep of the flock shall be scattered abroad.

Mark XIV. 27. I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered.

The shepherd also will I smite,
Mitres and crofiers overthrown.
And when I shall entrap him,
Then will his sheep be scattered abroad.

Wann der Hirt selbst Wache hält Ist die Heerde wohl bestellt.

Der Bischoff.

*Ein Bischoff soll untrüfflich seyn, Und seine Schäflein weiden,
Mit Gottes Wort u: Reiner-Lehr, Und von den Sünden leiten.
Wohl Dir! du hast est so gemacht, Drum wirst du deiner Bürde
Entlastet, ü: dein Fleis verschafft Dir gröfre Himels-Würde.*

XIII. THE PRINCE ELECTOR.

Ezekiel VII. 27, 24. . . . and the prince shall be clothed with defolation. And I will make the pomp of the strong to cease.

Come, prince, with me, and lay aside
Honours of the world so quickly ending.
The only one am I, who indeed abase
The pride and the pomp of the mighty.

Auch im vorüber gehen läßt sie sich liebeich sehen.

Der Fürst.

*Ein Fürst ist ja nicht bloß allein zur Lust und Pracht gebohren,
Vielmehr zugleich als Haupt und Herr, zu helfen auferköhren.
Wo armer Wais-und Wittven Recht wird freventlich gekräncket;
Doch keinem ist vor meiner Macht ein Freijheits-Brieff geschencket.*

XIV. THE LORD ABBOT.

Proverbs v. 23. He shall die without instruction, and in the greatness of his folly he shall go astray.

He will die, for he has not obtained
For himself any training of wisdom ;
And among numbers will he be deceived
By the folly which over him rules.

Der nicht im Gewissen rein, Nur dem Kanst du schrecklich seyn.

Der Abbt.

*Mich schreckst du graffer Strecken-Bein, gar nicht mit deinen Knochen;
Denn mir zu Liebe, wird doch nicht der Alte Bund gebrochen,
Doch der sich dafs er sterblich ist, mag täglich wohl betrachten,
Kan dich, die Welt und ihren Pracht, nebst aller Lust verachten.*

XV. THE LADY ABBESS.

Ecclesiastes iv. 2. Wherefore I praised the dead which are already dead, more than the living which are yet alive.

I have always the dead more praised
Than the living in whom evil abounds ;
Nevertheless Death has united me
To the rank of those who are of the world.

Öhl muß in der Lampen brennen, Soll man uns vor Klug erkennen.

Die Abbtissin.

*Kom Liebste Abtissin auf, auf! zur Hochzeit mit dem Lamme,
So schon den Handschlag mit dir hielt, dort an des Creutzes Stämme.
Verlasse das was sterblich heist, Reiß' dich aus Kedars Hütten,
So wird der Himmel dich davor, mit Wolust überschütten.*



XVI. THE NOBLE KNIGHT.

Pſalm LXXXIX. 48. What man is he that liveth, and
ſhall not ſee death? Shall he deliver his ſoul from the
hand of the grave? (11)

Who is that man, however great he be,
Who is able to live on without dying?
And when by Death wholly borne down,
Who again can make his ſoul run its courſe?

Wo luſt fällt, Wä'r ſie noch ſo hoch geſtellt.

Der Edelmen.

*Köm! wehre dich laß Courtoisie und Gallanfren bleiben;
Wend' deiner Ärmē Kräfte an, den Feind von dir zu treiben;
Doch Laut und Degen fällt ſchon weg aus den verzagten Händen;
Dum mußt du feiger Corydon, ſo Lieb als Leben enden.*

XVII. THE CANON.

Matthew XXVI. 45. Behold, the hour is at hand.

To the choir thou goeſt to fay thine hours,
Praying God for thyſelf and thy neighbour.
But need there is now that thou die,
Seeſt thou not the hour that approaches.

Die Obſicht aufs Gewicht, Hält mich im Gang und Pflicht.

Der Dom-Herr.

*Wohl Dir! daß deine letzte Stund, dich im Begriffe findet,
Wozu dich Pflicht und Schuldigkeit in deinem Amt verbindet.
Erſchröcke nicht! Du wirſt hinfort, recht Hoſanna ſingen:
Dem, Welchem aller Engel Chör, das Dreijmahl Heilig! bringen.*

XVIII. THE CORRUPT JUDGE.

Amos II. 3. And I will cut off the judge from the midst thereof.

From the midst of them will I take you,
Ye judges corrupted by gifts.
From Death you shall not be exempt,
For elsewhere will I carry you off.

Kläger und Beklagter müssen Durchs Verhören Recht genießen.

Der Richter.

*Entscheid und mercke wohl die Sach um die der Arme leidet,
Du siehst daß jener mehr aus Haß, als Lieb zum Rechte streitet,
Dum richterecht! wißt du dereinst ein gnädig Urtheil hören,
Mus der von dir gedrückten Stimm nicht jenen auffpruch stören.*

XIX. THE ADVOCATE.

Proverbs XXII. 3. A prudent man foreseeth the evil, and hideth himself: but the simple pass on, and are punished.

The crafty man has seen the maliciousness
That would make the innocent be bound,
And then by some way of the law
Has he come to afflict the poor.

Er nimt jenen Schein nicht an, So die Prob nicht halten kan.

Der Advocat.

*Wann sonst gewissenmäßige gelehrte Advocaten
As Diener der Gerechtigkeit geprester Unschuld rathen,
So trachten Rabulisten stets die Wahrheit zu verstecken
Dich du solst deine Hand nicht mehr nach den geschencken strecken.*

XX. THE SENATOR, OR MAGISTRATE.

Proverbs XXI. 13. Whofo stoppeth his ears at the cry of the poor, he also shall cry himself, but shall not be heard.

The rich men do ye always counsel,
And to the poor ye shut the ear.
Aloud will ye cry at the last day,
But to you also will God do the like.

Um allen nutz zu seijn verzehret mich der Schein.

Der Raths-Herr.

*Schaff recht und hörden Armen an, du Raths-Herr, Burger-meister,
Denn das ist deine Schuldigkeit, und er wird desto träufler,
Dir seine Noth und Iämerstand recht hertzlich vorzutragen,
Durch difz kanst du das Burger-Recht im Himm̃el dir erjagen.*

XXI. THE PREACHER.

Iſaiah v. 20. Woe unto them that call evil good, and good evil; that put darknefs for light, and light for darknefs; that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter.

Evil for you who thus are bold
To blame us as evil though it is good,
And to hold forth as good though it is evil,
Placing with the sweet the bitter.

Leitung Stimm und Schall hintertreibt den Fall.

Der Pfarrherr.

*Auf! ende deine Predigt bald, Die Uhr ist aufgeloffen,
Wohl dir, wann du nach Amtes-Pflicht stets Gottes Sinn getroffen;
Weh! aber so du deine Heerd nicht rein und treu gelehret
Und öftters gar aus Schmeigeleij, des Höchsten Wort verkehret.*



XXII. THE PRIEST.

Wisdom of Solomon VII. 1. I myself also am a mortal man.

I bear the holy sacrament
Desiring to succour the dying,
I, who am mortal as he is,
And like him I needs must die.

Werfe mich auff alle Seiten: Nichts, wird meinen stand bestreiten.

Der Caplan.

*Ich soll als Seelen-Artz so fort, hin nach dem Krancken gehen,
Und selbigen zur letzten Reis, mit Himmels-kost versehen:
Indessen hascht mich selbst der Todt, und leuchtet mir zu Grabe:
Doch tröstet mich dafs ich beij mir, der Lebens-Fürsten habe.*

XXIII. THE MENDICANT FRIAR, OR MONK.

Psaln CVII. 10. Such as sit in darknes and in the shadow of death, being bound in affliction and iron: (11) rather, bound in beggary.

Thou who hast neither care nor remorse
Save only for thy state of beggary,
Thou wilt follow to the shadow of Death
In order to free thyself from necessity.

Durch deiner Kräfte Schutz biet ich den Wetter Trutz.

Der Mönch.

*Was wilst du den O Tod an mir, meinst du mich zu erschrecken?
So will ich in den Wunden mich defs der hir ist verstecken.
Lafz Sand und Uhr verlauffen seijn, wer täglich sucht zu sterben,
Kan doch alleine nur durch dich das Wahre Leben erben.*

XXIV. THE CANONESS, OR NUN.

Proverbs xxiv. 12. There is a way which seemeth right unto a man, but the ends thereof are the ways of death.(11)

Such a way is to human creatures good,
And to man it appears very just.
But the end of it gives to man
The Death, who all sinners assembles.

Freij vom Irrdſchen zu feyn Wünſcht mein Hertze nur allein.

Die Nonne.

*Kan ſo der Engel Saiten-Spiel auf Erden mich ergötzen,
In was vor Freude wird nicht erſt der Himmel uns verſetzen?
Drum komm nur angenehmer Tod! die machſt mir kein grauen,
Weil ſich mein Hertze längſt gewünscht Gott ewig anzuschauen!*

XXV. THE AGED WOMAN.

Ecclus. xxx. 17. Death is better than a bitter life, or continual sickness.

Long time have I lived in pain,
So that no more have I wiſh to live;
But of a ſurety I well believe
Better is Death than life.

Dieſes Faulen und Verweſen, macht ſie wider neu Genesen.

Daß alte Weib.

*Dein Elend jamert mich ſchon ſelbſt du abgelebte Mutter!
Drum ſchick die Seel dem Himel zu; den Leib der Würmer Futter.
Der ſchon genugsam abgematt, wirff und ſenck in die Erde,
Auf deſs was du in Schwachheit säß, einſt neu bekräftigt werde.*

XXVI. THE PHYSICIAN.

Luke IV. 23. Physician, heal thyself.

Well knowest thou the malady
In order to succour the patient,
And yet knowest not, blunder-head,
The ill by which thou art about to die.

Es weis wohl was es soll versprechen, Doch nicht wenn es selbst soll zerbrechen.

Der Medicus.

*Sprich nicht dazß diesem armen Weib der Tod sitz auf den Nacken;
Es wird vielmehr dich augenblicks, trotz, deiner Kunst anpacken,
Sie lebt! du stirbst; brauch Gold-Tinctur und alle Panaceen,
Brich ich den Stab so ist's um dich ja selbst Galen gescheen.*

XXVII. THE ASTROLOGER.

Job XXXVIII. 18, 21. declare if thou knowest it all.
. . . . Knowest thou it, because thou wast then born? or
because the number of thy days is great. (11)

Thou didst tell by speech of double meaning
That which to others ought to happen.
Tell me then by Astrology
When thou oughtest to come to me.

Dem Ungewitter zu entweichen Sucht Er die Höhe zuerreichen.

Der Sternseher.

*Du rühmst dich, andrer Menschen Glück u: Unglück vorzusagen,
Wie kan dich dan dein eigener Todt, in solches Schrecken jagen?
O! wie viel besser wäre es, du hättest vor gelernet;
Wie man durch den gewiesnen Todt dem Unglück sich entfernt.*



XXVIII. THE MISER.

Luke XII. 20. Thou fool, this night thy soul shall be required of thee: then whose shall those things be, which thou hast provided?

This very night Death will feize thee,
And to-morrow wilt thou be buried.
But tell me, fool, to whom will come
The goods which thou hast hoarded.

Sie famlen, doch nicht Ihnen Geitz mus so andern dienen.

Der Reiche.

*Du Reich vom Geitz befeßner Man! Was hilfft dich nun dein schinden,
Känst du beij deinem Kasten-Gott im sterben beijstand finden?
Sprich deine Seele nun vergnügt. Doch Wehe du mußt scheiden!
Und dein mit Qual erworbnen Schatz Kan dich hir nicht begleiten.*

XXIX. THE MERCHANT.

Proverbs XXI. 6. The getting of treasures by a lying tongue is a vanity tossed to and fro of them that seek death. (11)

Vain is that man who shall hoard up
Great wealth and treasures for untruth,
Death will make him repent of it,
For in Death's snare will he be taken.

Ach! Kaufft fur Gold und Edle-Stein, doch lieber diese Perle ein.

Der Kauffmann.

*Hier kömt ein Wexel den du nicht kanst mit protest abweisen:
Wilßt du nicht ewig Banquerout und noch Solvende heißen.
Drum bringe nur dein Manual, Passiv-und Activ-Schulden
Ins Reine; denn kein bitten hilfft mich länger zuredulten.*



XXX. THE SEAMAN IN A STORM.

I *Timothy* VI. 9. But they that will be rich fall into temptation and a snare, and *into* many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition.

In order to acquire worldly goods
Ye enter into temptation,
Which places you in sudden perils
And leads you to perdition.

Ohn' diesen Schein, kan die Fahrt nicht glücklich seijn.

Die Schiffenden.

*So läßt der schlechte Über-Rest, mit Schrecken und mit grauen
Nach so viel angewender Müh' sich statt Gewinnes schauen
Drum geh' in dich bereue bald, die Menge deiner Sünden,
So kanst du doch aus Capo Spej, noch Porto Cæli finden.*

XXXI. THE ARMED KNIGHT.

Job XXXIV. 20. In a moment shall they die, and the people shall be troubled at midnight, and pass away: and the mighty shall be taken away without hand.

People suddenly will rise up
In opposition to the inhuman,
And the violent will they take away
From among them without force of hand.

Sich den Lastern widersetzen, Bringet Sieg-und Preiß-ergötzen.

Der Ritter.

*Es ist genug! Entbreche dich, mir mehr zu widerstreben,
Du kanst mir unterliegend, auch doch noch als Sieger leben;
Wo sonst nur deine Ritter schafft, von Lastern nicht beflecket?
Dann, eben diesen Siegen-ob, ist's: wo der Adel flecket.*



XXXII. THE COUNT.

Pſalm XLIX. 17. For when he dieth, he ſhall take nothing away: his glory ſhall not deſcend after him.(11)

With himſelf he will carry nothing away,
But let Death only once make him fall,
Nothing of his glory will he take
To place with himſelf in his tomb.

Wie grofs Sie war, Stelt uns Sturtz und Fall erſt dar.

Der Graff.

*Du biſt ein Graff, ein groſſer Herr, Jag, ſtell auf Vogel-heerden
Dis zeigt Dir fein im Bilde an wie Du gefällt wirſt werden.
Dann ſchwindet Hoheit, Luſt und Pracht, Drum ſuch beiß guten tagen,
Dir etwas ſo kein Moder frißt, den Hiemel zu erjagen.*

XXXIII. THE OLD MAN.

Job XVII. 1. My breath is corrupt, my days are extinct, the graves are ready for me.

My ſpirits, how they are weakened,
And my life is paſſing all in vain.
Alas! my long days are leſſened,
More remains not for me but a tomb.

End und Anfang ſimt zuſammen, Beißdes brent in gleichen Flämen.

Der alte-Mann.

*Iſts Alter ſonſten Ehren wehrt vor ſich ſchon vor der Jugend,
So iſt es ſolches mehrers noch, ſo es bekrönt die Tugend.
Denn dieſe, nicht die Jahre finds, ſo unſer Ende zieren.
Wie ſeelig! der fein lebens Schiff kan ſo in Haafen führen.*



XXXIV. THE COUNTESS, OR BRIDE.

Job XXI. 13. They spend their days in wealth, and in
a moment go down to the grave.

Midst worldly goods their days they spend
In pleasures and in sadness,
Then sudden to the grave descend,
Where pass their joys to sadness.

Ihr Pracht und schöner Schein wird bald Staub und Asche seyn.

Die Gräfin.

*Was du jetzt bist und werden wirst, gibt dir ein Blick zu kennen,
Dum wilst du gleichsam mit gewalt nicht ins Verderben rennen.
So wirff hinweg die Eitelkeit, und schmücke deine Seele,
Mit Christi Blut und Unschuld aus, statt Balsams, Schmünck &c. Oele.*

XXXV. THE BRIDE AND BRIDEGROOM.

Ruth I. 17. If ought but death part thee and me.

Tis love unites and makes us live,
And will in faith our hearts prepare ;
Long time it will not be able to follow us,
Because Death will come to part us.

So kan wie ichs thu' handeln, Sich Zweij in Eins verwandeln.

Die Verliebten.

*Umfasst schertzt und küßt euch nur doch lernt an euren Blumen,
Wie bald, schleicht nur der Todt herzu, die Liebe mus verstumen ;
Dum wolt Ihr lieben ? Liebet Den, Der euch zu erst geliebet,
Und täglich stündlich augenblicks, an euch noch Liebe übet.*



XXXVI. THE PRINCESS, OR DUCHESS.

2 *Kings* I. 4. Thou shalt not come down from that bed
on which thou art gone up, but shalt surely die. (11)

From the bed to which thou hast gone up
Thou shalt not come down at thy pleasure.
For thee Death will have quickly subdued,
And in brief time will he come to feize thee.

Zur Sicherheit dient Wachsamkeit.

Die Fürstin.

*Halt Nacht Music und laß durch sie den Schlaf dir lieblich machen,
So liefert dich mein Bruder mir was leichter nur im Rachen,
Und so verschwindet als im Schlaf, die gantze Luft der Erden
Drum feelig! der stets wachbar kan von mir betroffen werden.*

XXXVII. THE PEDLAR.

Matthew XI. 28. Come unto me all ye that labour and
are heavy laden.

Come, and walk after me,
Ye, who are too much laden.
Enough have ye followed the markets :
Ye shall now be unloaded by me.

So sieht der Ein-und-Ausgang aus, vom Kummer vollen Erden-Haus.

Der Kramer.

*Du lauffest Nahrungs-Kümer voll von einem Ort zum andern,
Und mußt mit mancher Last beschwert die halbe Welt durch wandern.
Was aber haßt du zum Gewin! Kaum dein erhaltne Leben;
Drum köm ich will dir bessern Kauff vor Unruh Rhue geben.*



XXXVIII. THE PLOUGHMAN, OR FARMER.

Genesis III. 19. In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread. (11)

In the sweat of thy brow
Thy poor living shalt thou gain.
After long toil and practice
Behold the Death which conveys thee away.

Soll der Acker fruchtbar seyn, mach ihn bald vom Unkraut rein.

Der Ackeremann.

*Halt! wende nur den Pflug nicht um die Müh ist schon vergebens;
Jedoch war sonsten wohl bestellt der Acker deines lebens,
So wirßt du jetzt und freudensvoll die schönsten Garben binden,
Und nach des Creutzes-Somer-Hitz, des Lebens-Ende finde.*

XXXIX. THE MOTHER AND YOUNG CHILD.

Job XIV. 1, 2. Man that is born of woman is of few days, and full of trouble. He cometh forth like a flower, and is cut down: he fleeth also as a shadow, and continueth not.

Every man from woman born
Is full of misery and encumbrance,
Thus as a flower soon ending.
He comes forth and then flees as the shadow doth.

Er wird der Welt entnommen, Eh' er zur Krafft gekommen.

Das Kind.

*O Mutter! Bruder helfft mir doch! rett mich aus Todes-Armen!
Find dann der Jugend-Blüthe nicht, O Tod! beiß dir Erbarmen?
Nein; darum bleibt was dorten steht: der Mensch vom Weib gebohren
Lebt voller Unruh kurtze Zeit. Geht Blumen gleich verlohren.*



XL. THE LAST JUDGMENT.

Romans XIV. 10. For we shall all stand before the judgment seat of Christ.

Matthew XXIV. 42. Watch therefore, and pray : for ye know not what hour your Lord doth come.

Before the throne of the mighty Judge
Each one for himself account shall render,
Watch, therefore, that he may not condemn you,
For ye know not when he will come.

Sie läßt zwar den Eintritt offen, aber keinen Ausgang hoffen.

Daß letzte Gericht.

Kommt ihr Gerechte erbt das Reich, so euch vorlängst bereitet !

Hingegen ihr Verdammtē geht, von euer Schuld bekleidet.

Zur Hölle Pein. O Unterschied ! Hier Leben, dorten Sterben.

Lafz IESU aus Barmhertzigkeit uns doch den Himmel erben.

XLI. THE ESCUTCHEON OF DEATH
IN SYMBOLS.

Ecclus. VII. 36. Whatsoever thou takest in hand, remember the end, and thou shalt never do amiss.

If thou wishest to live without sin,
Look on this image in all thy purposes,
And in nothing wilt thou be hindred
When away thou shalt goe to thy rest.

Alles was ich kan erreichen fällt und mus durch mich erleichen.

Wappen des Todes.

So siehst der Helmen Decke aus, und meines Wappens-Zierde.

Sag ! Sterblicher was sterblich ist, dem ich nicht Triumphirte ?

*Denn was mir nicht durch Kranckheit sich will unterwürffig machen,
Stürzt doch das Unglück noch zuletzt in meine Händ und Rachen.*



FIGURES OF DEATH

morally described & depicted according
to the authority of scripture
& of the holy Fa-
thers.

Chapter first of the first figured aspect of Death.



HO is he that has laid the corner stone? says Job (xxxviii. 6). Upon which words we must note that the stone is called in Latin *lapis*, which, according to its etymology, comes from *lesion*,⁽¹²⁾ or injury of the foot. For by travellers stones are sometimes met with, and by the hindrance which they cause to the feet, often make people stumble. Thus Death is figured to us, that so unexpectedly strikes wayfarers and lays them prostrate, and so much the more rudely as that Death finds them over confident and off their guard.

Now the corner stone is so made, that in whatever way it falls, it remains upright, by reason of its equalities. In like manner Death, falling equally, levels all powers, riches, haughtinesses and pleasures,—at one blow breaking them to pieces. And there is no one able to resist his impetuosity. As it is figured by Daniel (ii. 31-35) where he saw the statue of Nebuchadnezzar. The head of it was of gold, the arms and breast of silver, the body or belly of brass, the thighs of iron, and it had the feet made only of clay. Afterwards follows: there was a stone cut from the mountain without



hands, and the statue being struck was broken off at the feet and reduced to ashes. This is nothing else but the figure of a great rich man, having the head of gold by the nobility of his blood and lineage; and the arms and breast of silver by the great riches which he had acquired through care and labour. The body or the belly, which is of brass, signifies the renown which he has; for brass is sounding. By the thighs of iron is denoted the power and force which he possesses. But the feet of earth and of clay signifies to us his mortality. The stone is cut from the mountain by divine justice. It is to make known human Death, which is wrought by the hand of God. For God has not made Death, and takes no pleasure in the perdition of the living; but they are our miserable first parents which have given to it that force. And the force striking men unexpectedly makes them all stumble. For its impetuosity is so uncertain in the manner of acting both as to what place and at what time it must come, that human prudence is insufficient in ability to obviate it. Wherefore saint Augustine said (*Solilo.* 3): (13) Opportune Death in a thousand ways is ever snatching men off. That person it oppresses by fever, and this by severe pains. One is consumed by famine, the other quenched by thirst. Death suffocates one in water, another it destroys in flames. One it slays on the gibbet, another by the teeth of savage beasts; the one by iron, the other by venom. So by every means does death force human life wretchedly to end. And above all miserable things, the most miserable is to behold nothing more certain than Death, and nothing more uncertain than the hour when it must come.

Chapter of the second aspect of Death
morally depicted.





HE has made himself, says the Book of Kings (ii. 22) horns of iron. It must be known, that nature, with a view to their defence, has so well provided for beasts, that instead of weapons, which they would not know how to use, she has given to those, which have not teeth to bite, horns to strike, and notably has given to beasts two horns that they may strike on all sides. So to the end that he may strike on the right and on the left, that is to say, may kill young and old, poor and rich by his blows, Death, as a horned beast, is armed with two very bloody horns, and holds indifferently each person under his power and force ; which Daniel (ch. viii.) saw in figure, being at Susa before the gate of the palace,—where he saw the sheep having high horns, and the one higher than the other,—and thrusting his horns against the East and against the West, against the South and against the North, none of the beasts was able to resist him, which is no other thing than the figure of that Death which has two horns. And if we avoid one of them, we cannot flee the other.

Death strikes at the East, that is to say at boyhood's age ; and at the Southern region, which is impure and impassioned youth. He strikes also at the cold and dry North, which is old age ; then at the West. For some he waits until decrepitude ; and smites those very persons the more annoyingly, the more the groanings and sorrows of the despair of being delivered have preceded him. And to this effect said Seneca. (14) There are other kinds of death which are mingled with hope. Sometimes the malady has made its course, a deep tinged inflammation. Many things which it has engulfed the sea casts back. The Knight often recalls the sword from the head of him whom he was wishing to kill. But for him whom decrepitude conducts to Death, there is nothing in which he can hope. But the good Seneca, in his book of natural questions, (14) offers a



good remedy for not being frightened at the hard moment of Death. He says: Act so that Death may be familiar to thee in thought, and should fortune so permit, that you may not only be able to await him, but also may boldly look forward to him.

Chapter of the third aspect of Death.



F thieves and malefactors knew how to transform and disguise themselves in places where they have done ill, oftentimes would they avoid the gibbet, or the penalties of justice. But generally we see it happen that they are always taken unexpectedly, and that their sin so leads them that the greater part of them come and burn themselves in the candle. (15)

In like manner if the sinners of this world, after they have offended God, knew how to transform and transport themselves by penitence from sin to grace, the eternal Judge would not recognize them, in order to condemn them to eternal punishment. But because they trust to their youth and bodily health, or to their temporal goods, the hand of the judge by his hangman, or officer, that is to say, by Death, surprises them when they are thinking to be most in safety. So caught he hold of the king Belshazzar: who, as Daniel recites (ch. v.), made a great feast to his nobles, defiling the vessels of the Temple, out of which he gave to his concubines to drink; and at that hour appeared a hand writing on the wall of his palace these three words, Mene, Tekel, Peres. Which vision so greatly amazed the King, that he caused all the Magicians, Chaldeans and diviners of his kingdom to be summoned, and promised them great gifts if they would explain to him the meaning of that writing. But none of these enchanter understood any thing about it

Finally Daniel being brought there set forth the words in

this manner :(16) Mene, that is to say thy kingdom is numbered, O King, to give thee to understand that the number of the days of thy reign is accomplished. Tekel means that thou art set in the balances, and that thou art found very light. Penes signifies, divided: to shew that thy kingdom shall be divided and given to the Persians and Medians. And that was accomplished the following night, as the Master of histories says.(17)

But what figure and aspect of Death is offered to us by this name Belshazzar,(18) which is interpreted Confusion, and designates the ungrateful sinner, for whose conversion God has long time waited, and he is not converted? For which cause the divine judgment in anger sends against his head perturbation or disquiet: because that he misused the vessels of the Temple. For on pleasures and terrestrial delights he employs the memory, the will and the understanding, which ought to be occupied on spiritual blessings and in heavenly contemplations. But when he thinks to live more securely and more happily, and flourishing in youth, surrounded with delights, pleasures and prosperities of the body and of goods, sudden Death, rushing upon the fallacious and fugitive hope, on which the wretched one rested, shatters it and annuls it. And then thus cut off, Belshazzar, that is to say the sinner, warned by this unexpected perturbation, sends for the Chaldeans, that is to say the physicians, and promises them great reward, if they can preserve him from Death. But not all the physicians, nor all the drugs can show the cause of that malady written on the wall of his body, or know how to prevent Death, once sent there, from performing his office. For Daniel, that is to say the divine judgment and irrevocable decree will be executed. So it is said the number of the kingdom is enumerated, for that the term is accomplished of that sinner who hath not amended, however long God may have awaited him.

And so he is put in the balance of examination, where he is found very much wanting. For he has not taken care to keep the image of his Creator, & the talents entrusted to him, namely, memory, understanding and will; he has scattered them without making any gain for them, or spiritual profit, although he knew that the Lord, who had bestowed them on him, that is to say on his body, expected from them spiritual usury. And therefore the divine judgment is given against him, that his kingdom be divided; that is to say his body, which is in two regions, namely, in the spiritual and in the corporeal, which are the Soul and the Body. Of these, one part, which is the Body, will be given to the worms to gnaw; and the Soul to the fire of Hell, which is the thrice horrible aspect of Death, there to be perpetually tormented: from which may God be willing to preserve us, and which we ought to be afraid to see.

Chapter of the fourth aspect of Death.



END in the reaping hooks: for the harvests are ripe, says Joel (iii. 13) to the good husbandman, who leaves not his field idle on seeing the time come when there is need to gather in the grain. For after he has carried the wheat he sows turnips in his field, or other things likely to grow. Wherefore he is anxious to harvest the corn when it is ripe. In like manner the Husbandman of this present life is God, & each one of us is the harvest, which ought to bear fruit in the field. We see that the seeds are left in the field until the time of harvest, & then are reaped with the sickle, and we leave them there no longer, and the ripe are harvested with the unripe. Now to speak to the purpose, God in this life grants us time to gather in the harvest, to the intent that we, coming to the

ripened harvest, may be placed in the garners of the Lord, namely, in life eternal, & not be sent with the straw to be burned.

And if we produce not fruit in due time, divine justice will not permit us longer to remain in this field : but with the sickle of Death will cut us from the field of this present life, whether we have produced sweet deeds or four. That saint John well foresaw in his Apocalyphe (ch. xiv.), when in vision was shown to him an Angel, who was commanded to gather the harvest because that the corn was ripe. The hour is come, says he, when the harvest must be gathered. And he put his sickle into the ground, & gathered the harvest. And afterwards it follows : And the other came forth who had a sharp scythe, & the Angel that had power over the fire, said to him who had the scythe : Put in, said he, the sharp scythe, and gather in the buds of the vine. Which he did, & that which he gathered in, he put into the lake of the wrath of God.

What does that scythe signify or figure to us, if not human Death ? And with good reason : for however much the ears of wheat, when they are in the field, may be one greater than the other, and longer and bigger, ever towards the root, in order to cut it with the sickle, all are found equal. And so Death does with human beings. For of whatever lies in the field of human life, the one may be higher, more excellent than another in greatness of nobility or in riches, but at all times, when Death harvests them and reduces them into sheaves, if we observe them well, we shall find them all equal.

Of this we have an example in Diogenes, who could not find any difference between the bones of the noble and of the ignoble. Whence I take the first sickle for the Death of the just, who in the field of this present life labour uninjured amid the thickets of adversity, are tried,—then arrive

at perfect maturity and are harvested, to the end that they may no more be subject to the perils of tempests and hailstorms of this world ; & that the heat may not fall upon them. And the Death of such is precious before God.

As to the other Angel holding the scythe so sharp, who harvested the buds of the vine, it is the Death of sinners, of which the Psalmist speaks : the Death of sinners is disquieted. And it is the Devil, who over the eternal fire has the power which God has given him, and who by the permission of God commands sinners to be gathered as the vintage, and to be torn from the vine of this present life ; that is to say, when they have accomplished their malice, and when in due time, because instead of producing sweet grapes they have produced bitter wild grapes, persevering in iniquity & malice without contrition or repentance, & cut off from the vine, they are thrown into the lake Infernal, where they will be cast down and have their works destroyed. Wherefore of such well said saint Augustine (1 *Confess.*) : (13) It is the most just punishment of sin, that each one should lose that which he has not been willing well to employ. For whoever has not brought forth fruit in this world, of what service is he, but to be cut down and cast into the fire ?

Chapter of the fifth figured aspect of Death.



NOT without a grandly figured similitude of Death is it described in saint Matthew (ch. xxiv.) : As goeth forth the lightning of the thunder from the East. And necessary is it to understand that there is one and the same cause of the lightning & of the thunder, and *they are* as if one and the same thing ; but that *one thing* is perceived by two senses ; Namely by the hearing and the sight : & the lightning is seen more quickly than the thunder is heard. But always they come both

together. And this priority arises only from the sensation. For the visible kind is much sooner multiplied than the audible: as we see by experience when we strike any thing with a great blow; The blow is sooner seen than the sound of the blow is perceived by those who are at a distance from it.

So it is with the thunder and with the lightning and fulguration from it. But sometimes the thunder & the lightning strike all at one blow, & then is it very dangerous. For it is a sign that it is very near us. Thus, not without cause, the holy scripture calls Death fulguration, *flashing*. For the course of the lightning is from East to West. And the course of Death is from birth up to the end. Notwithstanding this, Death is like what the scripture proclaims; when it says,—It is appointed for all men once to die. We see continually this thunderbolt striking here and there. But we do not listen to the voice of one saying, Thou shalt die & not live.

And yet in no way do we believe that we must die. As we see from the example of him who is in a ship, and meets another who is also sailing on the sea; it seems to the first that his own ship does not stir, and that the other alone makes way; although both are equally seen approaching each other. Thus men in the flesh living according to the flesh, constantly see the decline and end of the present life with respect to each other. Yet they always think themselves to be immortal. It is then a very perilous thing when Death at one and the same time is heard and seen. For we cannot provide for it.

In like manner it is a very dangerous thing when the sinner does not in his life-time hear the divine scripture, but waits to make trial when sudden Death shall come to strike him. For then he will not be able to apply a remedy, as Seneca says: (14) O thou insensate, thou forgetter of thy

frailty, if thou art afraid of Death when it thunders, & not before? We read a beautiful picture in Exodus (ch. ix.) where it is written, that through all Egypt were made thunders and lightnings, mixed with fire, with hail and tempest. And the cattle which were found out of the houses are dead.

Now Egypt is interpreted darkness, which represents to us the blindness of sinners, having eyes and seeing not. Indeed the sudden thunders and thunderbolts are made when, with mortal infirmity, the gehenna of Hell overtakes them. And because they are found outside the house of penitence, wandering through the fields of this life's vanity, putrifying like cattle on the dung-heaps of the flesh, the tempest of sudden Death descending upon them, forthwith they are destroyed; and by the vexatious Devils they are charmed at the hour of death. Respecting which saint Gregory (bk. vi. *mor.*) said to this purpose: (3) The ancient enemy, to charm the souls of sinners at the time of Death, unbridles the violence of cruelty; and those whom in life he has deceived by flatteries, waxing in cruelty, he charms, even when they are dying. Well ought we then to listen to the thunder of holy scripture, saying: There where I shall find thee will I judge thee. The Sage however teaches us to consider our latter days, to the end that we sin not, but may be always prepared. Wherefore said saint Gregory (bk. xii. *mora*): Whoever considers how he will be at Death will hold himself ready for Death. (3)

Chapter of the sixth figured aspect of Death.

READING that which is written in Nehemiah the prophet (viii. 1): The people gathered themselves together before the water gate; I have thereupon considered that there is no way so long which, by continuation of walking, may not sometime be finished,

and have termination or end. In like manner, this present life is a way shut in and terminated between two points; namely, between birth and death. And notwithstanding we all are travellers, on whom necessity is laid to come to the end, and to the gate, that is to say to Death, which is called the end of the present life & the beginning of the next: It is very true, that sometimes the gate is arduous. And because that it is strait, it needs that those entering by it be light and nimble, lest hindered by some burden they should not be able to enter, but should be shut out. Speaking more spiritually to the faithful who desire the future life, It is necessary for them to enter by the gate of Death with good will, & to prepare themselves in life so as on the day of passage to be disburdened of the sins of the Devil, who is ready then to sacrifice and to oppose the sinners whom he shall find busied with the weight of sin. Wherefore said Job (v. 4): His children are far from safety, and they are crushed in the gate. And of this Jeremiah (xvii. 21, 25) gives us a representation in the passage where he relates our Lord to have said: "Take heed to your souls, and be not willing to bear burdens or weights on the Sabbath day, and bring them not within the gates of Jerusalem." (19) And then he adds: Bring no burdens through the gates of this city. On the Sabbath day shall enter by them the princes of the kingdom sitting on the throne of David, the man of Judah.

The Sabbath day represents to us repose, & the day, which is the last day of the week, that is to say, the last day of man, the day of Death; at which man ought not to be found laden with ponderous burdens; for then are they difficult to unload. Ill then is man able to confess and to ease his soul of sin. For this cause our Lord teaches us: Pray that your flight be not made in the winter, nor on the



Sabbath day. We must one day enter by the strait and narrow gate of human Death, which is of so great a straitness that if beforehand the burdens of sin are not put off, no one thereby can freely enter: whence Seneca (14) deduced this moral: If we wish to be happy, if we wish not to be afraid either of gods or of men, or of any thing else, let us despise fortune when promising superfluous things. And when Jeremiah said: By this gate shall enter the kings, it is to be understood that they who have lived well and have prevailed over their vices, by confession, disburdening themselves of the weight of sin, and entering by this gate of Death common to all, shall inhabit the celestial city, Jerusalem, interpreted, vision of peace; and shall not be confounded, as said the Psalmist, when they shall speak with their enemies in the gate.

Chapter of the seventh figured aspect of Death.

THE worldly minded, however great the company of people which they may have, or however great the pleasure which may delight them, are at all hours melancholy, sad, & peevish. And they will have nothing to say among themselves except this: I would I were dead; I repent of having done that. The wicked, is he not very ungrateful? Accursed be the world and he who shall trust therein. I am no longer willing to frequent any person's society. Never more will I trust in any man. And such, or even stranger and more desperate avowals will you hear every day from those who not in God but in men place their confidence, consolation & love. Wherefore of such people it is said by the Psalmist (cvii. 4): They wandered in the wilderness in a solitary way, & they found no city to dwell in. And indeed that way is very difficult and perilous in which we find in the wilderness a



doubtful, wandering and unknown path. For sometimes the traveller taking this road, wanders from the right road, and knows not how again to return to it. And meanwhile he is in danger of being slain, either by robbers or by savage beasts. Wherefore ought a man in such a path to take some guide and never to abandon him. Is not in your opinion this present life doubtful?—for never to the threshold of death can life by the right way be found. This Job testifying (xvi. 22) says: I shall never return by the path along which I go.

We ought then to follow the guide, even him who well knows the road, namely our Lord, to whom, as faint Mark recites (xii. 14) it was said: "Master, we know that thou art true, and teachest the way of God in truth." Otherwise should we wander from the way of righteousness, and be taken of that very cruel robber, who surrounds us night and day in order to devour us. Which has been well figured to us in the book of Numbers (ch. xiv.), when the children of Israel, unwilling to follow Moses to the entrance of the land of promise, perished by divers punishments. So not willing to follow the way of repentance shewn to us by JESVS CHRIST to the unknown threshold of terrible Death, as we travel through the deserts and wildernesses of this world, we are in danger of falling among cruel robbers and savage beasts. To this effect faint Bernard (*In lib. medi.*) says: (10) O Soul, what fear there will be, when having left all things the presence of which is so pleasant to thee, alone thou shalt enter into a region totally unknown to thee, where thou wilt behold a very frightful company who will come to meet thee. Who is he that on the day of such necessity will determine thee? Who will defend thee from the roaring lions ready for their prey? Who will console thee? Who is he that will guide thee? And there follows: This thy friend is then more to thee than all thy friends.



He it is who after all things shall be taken away from thee will keep faithful to thee at the day of thy burial. And he will conduct thee by the unknown road, leading thee to the seat of the Sion which is above, and there will he place thee with the Angels before the face of the divine majesty.

Chapter of the eighth figured
image of Death.

TE read this in the book of Judges (xv. 8): He dwells in the cavern or pit;—demonstrating that a man walking through snows in clear weather, when the sun shines upon them, on arriving at his house or lodging, no longer sees any thing. And the reason is, that this surpassing whiteness produces so great a dispersion in the eyes, and leaves a phantasm of so great a brightness, that he is not able to see any thing else. But when he enters into a house, or better into a dark pit, he seems always to have this brightness before his eyes. Whence there is great danger within the house or the pit, lest, by some false step, he should injure himself by stumbling. And there is no better remedy than to remain there a space of time until the phantasm of this brightness may have passed away.

Applying this in a spiritual sense, We shall take the snows for the prosperities of the present life, and with good reason. For when the snows are agglutinated together, they appear very white and shining. And then, when the South wind comes, running over them, they become very dirty and nasty. So the prosperities of this world, as long as they adhere to a man, seem very bright, beautiful and shining. But fortune becomes contrary by the changefulness of her wheel, and they are converted into groaning and tears. And because those travelling a long time through them are



so very blind in heart and in affection, that when they ought to enter into the abode of the future life, through Death, they see nothing there, and do not know where they are going. They have a phantasm so imprinted on their thoughts, that it cannot be effaced by dark and gloomy Death. They are unable to consider the suddenness of Death, or the pains of Hell, or the fear of the Judge. And for a short time they are unable to think of any thing, save the happiness of this mortal life, so much do they keep their feet in the grave and their Soul in the pain of Hell. And notwithstanding in these words of Job (vii. 6): My days have passed more lightly than the web is cut off by the weaver, — faint Gregory says, (3) that there is nothing on which men think less. For even when Death holds them by the collar, they do not believe him to be coming to them. So by these vain and fantastic illusions of the world man, being prejudiced, cannot aim at his deliverance. And the sovereign remedy for this is to think attentively and with long consideration on the divine abode, that is on Death, through the grave and the dark house. Thence shall we recognise what the pomp of the world is worth, its glory, its riches, and its delights. And he who shall despise and disown all these things shall see God. Thus treated He the good Elias (1 Kings xix. 11–13), who remained at the entrance of the cave watching and observing. And first, there passed by a great and strong wind that brake in pieces the rocks; but the LORD was not in the wind. Secondly, there passed by an earthquake, but the LORD was not in the earthquake. Thirdly, there passed by a fire, but the LORD was not in the fire. Fourthly, there passed by the whistling of a gentle breeze, and with it was the LORD. And Elias saw the Lord, and they have spoken together, GOD and Elias.

Now to speak to our purpose, by means of Elias, who is named seeing, is designated a provident Christian who,



knowing himself mortal, always meditates upon Death. And because his term is uncertain he ever makes himself ready to receive it, as if at every hour it might come to him. And to a man thus disposed Death cannot bring perturbation. However Seneca said: (14) None of us knows how near his term may be. Thus then let us frame our courage, as if we were come to extremity. For no man receives Death joyously, except it be he who has beforehand, by long meditation, prepared himself to receive it. And if thus we prepare ourselves betimes, there is no wind of pride, nor earthquake moved by wrath, nor fire of lust, which is able to harm us. But at last we shall perceive the gentle breathing of the sweetness of holy scripture, where God shall speak health-giving precepts, by which we shall evidently see what to shun, and what we ought to follow, without transitory pleasures being able to blind the eyes of thought by any dispersion.

God grant grace to us all so well to think on all these aspects of Death, and so intently to admire them and meditate upon them, that when by the will of God Death shall come to take us, assured by Him who has triumphed over it, we also shall be able to triumph, that through the merit of that triumphant Chariot of the Cross we may be able to arrive at that life where Death no more has power or force. Amen.

Praise to God.



The diverse Deaths

OF THE GOOD AND OF THE bad of the old & new Testament.



D THER than the funereal figures of Death, so frightful to the bad, here with the pencil of scripture will be represented the Deaths of the just and unjust, in imitation of Lucian, (20) who in his dialogue of images says: That in order to paint a perfect beauty of a woman, it is necessary only to recall before the eye of memory the particular beauties of each one womanly feature, here and there, of old portrayed by excellent painters. In like manner, on this little tablet will be traced all the beautiful and hideous deaths of the Bible, from which the readers will be able to derive histories of them worthy of being shown to the unlearned. The whole to the glory of Him, who permits Death to reign over all the living, as it may please him and when he wills.

Figure of Death in general.



BECAUSE the sentence of God is true, by which he said to man (Gen. ii. 17): "In the hour that thou eatest thereof," that is to say of the forbidden fruit, "thou shalt die;" It is certain that immediately after the sin man dies. Then is the living man as if continually dying, (13) according to faint



Augustine in his xiv. chapter of the City of God.

As it may be that men before the deluge (Gen. v.) lived through so many years, notably does the scripture after the account of the time of their life say, And he died.

If our ancient Fathers feared Death and desired long life, it was no marvel ; for they could not yet mount to heaven, nor enjoy the divine vision, until the Saviour had come, who opened the gate of Paradise. Wherefore good Lot (Gen. xix), admonished by the Angel that he should escape to the mountain, feared to go there, lest perchance the evil might take him there, and there he might die.

Death of the righteous, said Balaam. (Num. xxiii. 10.)

Also the bad desire to die ; hence, let my soul die.

It is evident that Moses (Deut. iv. 21, 22) was not willing to obey the commandment of God, who willed that he should pass the Jordan ; but at the same time we see well enough that freely he would have lived longer, if God had willed. Wherefore he said : The Lord is angry with me ; behold I die in this land, I shall not pass over the Jordan.

The greatest part of the reward of the Mosaic Law appeared to consist in the length of life : For it is written (Deut. xxxii. 42), "Set your hearts to all the words which I testify among you," that doing them, ye may continue a long time in the land into which ye shall enter in order to possess it.

Zebah and Zalmunna (Judges viii. 20, 21) preferred to be killed by the hand of Gideon, a valiant man, rather than by the hand of Jether his son.

When Elijah was seated under a juniper tree, he demanded for his soul that he might die, saying (1 Kings xix. 4) : "It is enough : now, O Lord, take away my soul."

Hezekiah king of Judah walked before the Lord in truth and was good (Isaiah xxxviii. 3). Every time when it was

announced to him by Ifaiah that he must die, He prayed the Lord with great weeping, to the end that still he would prolong his life.

Tobit, provoked at having heard the answer of his wife, fighed, and began to pray with tears, saying (Tobit iii. 2) : "O Lord, thou art just, command my soul to be received in peace, for it is more expedient for me to die than to live." And then there follows in chapter iv., when he thought that his prayer was heard, he called his son, &c.

Sara, the daughter of Raguel, on having received from one of the chamber-maids a grievous injury, prayed the Lord, and said among other things (Tobit iii. 11-13) : "I request, O Lord, that thou absolve me from the bond of this unfitted state, or indeed that thou take me from upon the earth."

Before the king Zedekiah Jeremiah offered his prayer (Jer. xxxviii.), that he might not kill him, and that he should give command to put him again in the prison, in which he was before : to the end that he might not die by the Death of the Cross, which the Saviour was willing to bear, & this showed manifestly that not only was he willing to die, but that each kind of Death must be suffered by a just man in order to obey the divine will.

Before the advent of the holy Spirit the apostles too much feared Death, for, on their Lord being taken, they all forsook him (Mat. xxvi. 56) : but after that they were, through the virtue from on high, strengthened and confirmed, on being led before princes and Tyrants, they spoke with confidence.

Little did faint Paul fear, and not at all did he fear Death. (Acts throughout). He said that he was not only ready to be bound, but also to die for the name of the lord Jesus.

And himself in another place said (Acts xxv. 10) : If it is known to the Jews that I have done any thing worthy of



Death, I refuse not to die. At all times muſt it be noted, that after avoiding the ſnares of the Jews, he fled from City to City, not through fear of Death, but giving place to the bad he kept himſelf ſo as to be uſeful for many things.

Of the horrible Death of the bad, a deſcription painted according to the holy ſcripture.



AIN, who killed his brother (Gen. iv.), was ſlain by Lamech. Our lord ſent rain of ſulphur & of fire upon Sodom (Gen. xix. 24), and overthrew five cities defiled by a deteſtable ſin.

Shechem the ſon of Hamor, who wronged Dinah the daughter of Jacob, was killed by the ſons of Jacob (Gen. xxxiv. 25, 26), and all the people of the city.

The water of the red ſea drowned the chariots and all the equipment, the ſoldiers and the army of Pharaoh, and not one of them remained (Exod. xiv. 28). And indeed very juſtly; becauſe it was neceſſary that the body ſhould be drowned of him, whoſe heart could not be ſoftened.

Nadab & Abihu, ſons of Aaron, offering ſtrange fire before God (Lev. x. 1, 2), have been devoured by the fire of the lord, and are dead.

By the commandment of our Lord the ſons of Iſrael led forth out of the army the blaſphemer, and beat him to death with ſtones. (Lev. xxiv. 23.)

Korah, Dathan & Abiram & their accomplices, rebelling againſt Moſes, went down alive into Hell (Num. xvi. 31), being ſwallowed up by the earth.

The others, murmuring, and committing divers ſins, died of divers deaths in the deſert: ſo that of ſeven hundred thouſand men of war, two only entered into the land of promiſe. (Num. xxvi. 65.)

Becaufe Achan furtively carried off the treaſures offered



in Jericho (Joshua vii. 25), all the people of Israel stoned him, & consumed by fire whatever belonged to him.

Jael, the wife of Heber the Kenite, carried off the nail of the tent (Judges iv. 21), & fixed it in the brain of Sisera, who awaiting the sleep unto death, fainted and died.

If Zebah & Zalmunna had kept in safety the brothers of Gideon (Judges viii. 19), Gideon would have pardoned them. And because they killed them, they were slain by Gideon.

The sons of Israel took Adoni-bezek (Judges i. 6, 7), and having cut off the tips and ends of his hands (as he had done to seventy kings), they led him to Jerusalem, & there he died.

A woman, casting on the head of Abimelech a piece of a mill-stone, broke his skull (Judges ix. 53); and he called his armour-bearer, & commanded that he should kill him. And our Lord rendered to him the evil which he had done, in putting to death his seventy brothers.

When Eli heard that the ark of the Lord had been taken (1 Sam. iv. 18), he fell from his seat backward by the side of the gate, and having broken his neck he died.

David, a young stripling and all unarmed, and having no practice in arms, assaulted the proud & blasphemous Goliath, and killed him with his own sword. (1 Sam. xvii. 49-51.)

Saul, moved I know not by what envy, persecuted David. At last he took his own sword, and casting himself upon it, killed himself. (1 Sam. xxxi. 4.)

The first son of David violated his sister Thamar, and a little after was killed by the order of Absalom her brother, as he was feasting with him. (2 Sam. xiii. 28.)

Through the lust of ruling, Absalom did very much afflict his father David. (2 Sam. xviii.) But before he arrived at his object he was hanged between Heaven and Earth.

Ahitophel, seeing that his counsel was not accepted which



he had given against David (2 Sam. xvii. 23), went away to his house and died on the gibbet.

Sheba the son of Bichri excited the people against David in the city of Abel. (2 Sam. xx. 22.) Where he thought he had refuge & aid, there was he beheaded.

The young man, who boasted of having killed Saul, was by the commandment of David killed (2 Sam. i. 15), when he thought to announce a thing agreeable to him.

The like happened to two thieves, who brought the head of Ish-bosheth, son of Saul. (2. Sam. iv. 12.)

However noble a knight Joab was,—because he slew two men traitorously (1 Kings ii. 34), he was commanded to be killed by Solomon.

Ahab, wounded in war, died at evening, and the dogs licked up his blood (1 Kings xxii. 38) at that very place in which they licked up the blood of Naboth, who was stoned, Ahab, who could save him and ought to have done it, pretending not to notice the deed.

Another bad king, Elah, reigned tyrannically in Judah (1 Kings xvi. 10), against whom Zimri rebelled, & killed his lord, the which Zimri then died wretchedly.

When Elifha went up to the city of Bethel, some ill taught children mocked him. (2 Kings ii. 24.) There came forth two Bears and tore in pieces forty-two of these children.

One of the two who was with the king of Israel would not believe the words of Elifha, when predicting the future abundance; and on the next day the crowd of men for the spoils suffocated him, and there he died. (2 Kings vii. 17.)

Benhadad, king of Syria, who caused many evils to the children of Israel (2 Kings viii. 15), was in the end slain by his son (*servant*) Hazael.

Jehu, seeing the wicked Jezebel, who had been the cause of many evils, commanded that she should be cast down below (2 Kings ix. 33): and she was so trodden upon by



the crowd of horses that, although she was a King's daughter, she was not buried, and there remained only the skull of her head.

Athaliah, the mother of Ahaziah, killed all the Royal seed, to the end that she might reign over the people. (2 Kings xi. 1.) And then afterwards villainously was she killed by the commandment of Jehoiada the priest.

The bad and ungrateful king Jehoaah, who caused Zacharias the son of the priest Jehoiada to be cruelly stoned, was afterwards slain by his own people. (2 Kings xii. 20.)

Sennacherib, the very haughty king of the Assyrians, & the blasphemer of the God of Heaven, after that he was put to flight in confusion from the land of Judah, was killed by his own children. (2 Kings xix. 37.)

Zedekiah the king of Judah, evil towards God and towards man, was taken as he was fleeing (2 Kings xxv. 7), and before his eyes the king of Babylon caused his children to be killed. After they had put out his eyes, he was led to Babylon, and died there miserably.

Holofernes took and destroyed many countries; finally going to sleep drunk, he was beheaded by the hands of a woman. (Judith xiii. 8.)

The very proud Haman, who made men worship him, was hanged on the gibbet which he had prepared for Mordecai. (Esther vii. 10.)

Belshazzar, king of Babylon, was not amended by the example of Nebuchadnezzar his father, who before him had been hairy as a beast (Dan. iv. 33); and at the banquet he saw the writing on the wall, Mene, Tekel, Peres. (Dan. v. 25.) And that night he was killed, and his kingdom transferred to the Medes and to those of Persia.

The accusers of Daniel were, by the commandment of Darius king of Persia, put into the den of Lions. (Dan. vi. 16.) The like happens in chapter xiv. (11.)



Then when Alexander was on the bed of sickness (1 Macc. i. 5), it is said that he perceived that he should die, as if before he had no knowledge of Death, nor the remembrance of it.

Alcimus the traitor was smitten and impotent from paralysis, he could no more speak (1 Macc. ix. 55), "nor give order concerning his house." And he died in great torment.

The king Antiochus being grieved, because Andronicus had unjustly killed Onias the sovereign priest (2 Macc. iv. 38), commanded Andronicus to be killed in the same place in which he had committed such great impiety.

Many acts of sacrilege being committed in the temple by Lyfimachus (2 Macc. iv. 39), a great multitude of people was assembled against him, & near to the Treasury they killed him.

Antiochus, who had troubled the bowels of mercy, suffered severe pains of the bowels, and by a miserable death (2 Macc. ix. 28) died in the mountain.

The wicked Jason (2 Macc. v. 6), who had led captive his own brother, and had banished several people of his country, died in exile, and remained unpitied and unburied.

Menelaus in a short time maliciously obtained the principality, but soon was he cast headlong from a high tower upon a heap of ashes.

It is the rich man, whose field had produced abundance of fruit (Luke xii. 16), who, when he thought of destroying his barns in order to build larger, believed in living longer, but he did not. For it was said to him by our Lord, Fool, this night thou wilt perish.

Very terrible is the example of that famous bad rich man, who was feasting so much (Luke xvi.), and who died and was buried in hell.

Ananias and his wife Sapphira (Acts v. 1), because they

fraudulently kept back part of the price of their field when sold, died terribly at the reproof of saint Peter.

Herod, seated on the judgment seat, & clothed in royal garments, was speaking to the people. (Acts xii. 21.) And the people cried out, "The words of God & not of men." Then immediately the Angel of the Lord smote him: Because he had not given the honour to God. And consumed of worms, he expired miserably.

Another depicted description of the
precious Death of the just.



WHEN Abel and Cain were in the field, Cain rose up against Abel and killed him. (Gen. iv. 8.) And according to the reason given for it, because his works were evil, & those of his brother righteous.

Enoch walked with God, & appeared not. For God had taken him. (Gen. v. 24.)

Abraham died in a good old age (Gen. xxv. 8), an old man and full of days, and was gathered to his people.

The days of Isaac are accomplished, a hundred and eighty years (Gen. xxxv. 28), and worn out by age he died, and was gathered to his people, an old man and full of days.

When Joseph had adjured his brethren (Gen. l. 25), and had said to them, Carry up with you my bones from hence, &c., then he died.

Moses and Aaron, by the commandment of God (Num. xx. 23), went up into mount Hor, before all the multitudes, and when Aaron had despoiled himself of all his vestments, he invested Eleazar with them, and there Aaron died.

Moses, the servant of God, died in the land of Moab, the Lord commanding him (Deut. xxxiv. 5, 6), and the Lord buried him. And no man has known his sepulchre unto this present day.



David, after the instruction to his son Solomon, and the prayer which he made to the Lord for him & for all the people (1 Chron. xxix. 10-19), died in a good old age, full of days, of riches and of glory.

When Elijah & Elisha were travelling together, behold a burning chariot, & the horses of fire divided the one from the other. (2 Kings ii. 11.) And Elijah went up to Heaven in flashing fire.

The spirit of God clothed Zechariah the son of Jehoiada, and said to the people (2 Chron. xxiv. 20): Why transgress ye the commandment of the Lord? That will not profit you. The which people being gathered together against him, cast stones, according to the commandment of the King, & he was killed.

At the hour of Death Tobit called Tobit his son (21) (Tobit xiv. 2), and seven young men his nephews, & said to them: My end is near. And a little after it is said of his son, that when he had with joy accomplished eighty-nine years in the fear of the Lord, they buried him with all his line, &c.

Job lived after his scourgings a hundred and forty years (Job xlii. 16), & saw the sons of his sons unto the fourth generation, & he died old and full of days.

David would not weep for his innocent son when dead, although he had wept when he was sick. But he wept much for the fratricide and parricide Absalom when hanged. (2 Sam. xii. 23, & xviii. 33.)

After the instruction & comforting of his children, Mattathias blessed them, & died and was gathered to his fathers. (1 Macc. ii. 69.)

Judas Maccabæus, seeing the multitude of his enemies and the fewness of his own people, said (1 Macc. ix. 10): If our time be come, let us die manfully for our brethren.

Eleazer, after many torments offered to him (2 Macc. vi.



31), departed from this life, leaving to all the people the great memory of his virtue and fortitude.

These seven brothers with their sad mother, made an admirable end by commendable means. (2 Macc. vii. 41.) And many examples of virtue are to be noted there.

For the truth and honourableness of marriage S. John Baptist was beheaded by Herod the Tetrarch. (Mark vi. 18.)

Of that renowned poor man Lazarus it is written (Luke xvi. 22), that there begging he died, and that he was carried by Angels to Abraham's bosom.

However that thief may have lived to whom Jesus Christ, hanging on the cross, said: To-day thou shalt be with me in Paradise, he died happily.

When the blessed Stephen was stoned, he called upon the Lord God, and said: Lord Jesus, receive my spirit. (Acts vii. 59.) And kneeling down he cried with a loud voice: Lord, lay not this sin to their charge, &c. And when he had said this, he fell asleep in the Lord. To which Death let us make our own like.

And our saviour Jesus Christ, according to saint Augustine, at the fourth *chapter de Trinit.*, (13) by his single Death has destroyed our double Death. Which Jesus, as Augustine said afterwards at the xiv. chap. of the City of God, (13) gave so much grace of faith, that of Death (which is contrary to life) was made the instrument by which we shall pass to life: which is granted to us by the true author of eternal salvation; Who is the way, the truth & the life; Who has over life & Death the empire. Who with the Father & the holy Spirit lives and reigns God through endless ages.

Amen.

Description of the sepulchres
of the just.



AFTER great diligence Abraham bought the field in which he buried his wife when she was dead. (Gen. xxiii. 19.)

Jacob would not be buried with the wicked men in Egypt (Gen. xlvii. 30), but adjured Joseph that when he should be dead, he should be carried to the sepulchre of his Fathers, which Joseph accomplished with great solicitude. (Gen. xlix. 29, & l. 1-13.)

On going forth from Egypt Moses carried the bones of Joseph with him. (Exod. xiii. 19.)

David highly praised the men of Jabesh-gilead because that the bodies of Saul and his sons had been reverently buried by them. (1 Sam. xxxi. 11, & 2 Sam. i. 17-27.)

The punishment of him who, contrary to the commandment of God, had eaten bread in the house of the evil Prophet, was this only, that he should not be buried in the sepulchre of his Fathers. (1 Kings xiii. 22.)

Jehu, king of Judah, who caused Jezabel to be killed, caused her also to be buried : because she was the King's daughter. (2 Kings ix. 34.)

Tobit is praised for this, that at the peril of his life he carried off the bodies of the slain, & carefully gave them burial. (Tobit i. 17 ; ii. 3-7.)

The first admonition among those salutary ones which Tobit made to his son, was for his own burial and for that of his wife. (Tobit iv. 3.)

The Jews, who were accusers of the wicked Menelaus, were by the unjust judge condemned to death. Wherefore the Tyrians, indignant at this, liberally prepared for them burial. (2 Macc. iv. 49.)

After the war engaged in against Georgias, came Judas Maccabæus to gather up the bodies of the dead, & to bury them with their kinsmen. (2 Macc. xii. 39.)

The disciples of saint John the Baptist, hearing that he had been beheaded by Herod, came and took his body & buried it. (Matt. xiv. 12 ; Mark vi. 29.)



It appears that our Lord had manifested care of his burial, because that he answered Judas, when murmuring about the ointment, which according to him ought to be sold: Suffer, said he, that she keep it for the day of my burial. (John xii. 7.)

Our Lord was buried by Joseph and Nicodemus in a newly cut sepulchre, in which no one had yet been laid. (Matt. xxvii. 60; Mark xv. 46; Luke xxiii. 53; John xix. 41.)

The timorous men had care of saint Stephen when stoned by the Jews, & made a great lamentation over him. (Acts viii. 2.)

MEMORABLE AUTHOR-
ities & sentences of the Philosophers
& Pagan orators to confirm
the living in not fearing
Death.



ARISTOTLE said concerning the stream called Hypanis, (22) which deflects from a part of Europe into the sea, that certain little animals are born which live only a single day. And that which dies at eight o'clock in the morning, is then said to have died early; & that which dies at Noon has died of old age. Another, which before its Death sees the Sun set, is decrepid. But all that being a comparison of our very long age with eternity, we shall be found in the same brevity of time as that in which these little animals live. And still when we see any young person die, we must think that he dies in the morning. Then when one of forty or fifty years dies, let us think that it is at mid-day. And that very soon the evening will come, when it will be necessary for us

at last to go to bed in order to sleep as the others do ; and when the hour of evening shall come, we shall have little or no advantage from having remained after him, who has gone away at eight o'clock, or at Mid-day ; since at the end of the day we also must pass hence.

Wherefore said Cicero, (23) & said it well : Thou hast sleep for an image of Death, and every day thou clothest thyself therewith. And if thou doubtest, whether in Death there is any feeling, how much more, when thou seest that in his image there is no feeling. And afterwards he says, that Alcidas, an ancient Rhetorician, (24) wrote the praises of Death, in which were contained the numbers of the evils which afflict human beings, and that in order to make them desire Death. For if the last day bring not extinction, but change of place, What more is there to be desired ? And if Death extinguishes and effaces every thing, What is better than to go to sleep in the midst of the labours of this life, and so to repose in an eternal sleep ? Nature indeed does nothing rashly : but determines every thing for some end. She has not then produced man, that after he has suffered many labours here, she may shut him up in the misery of perpetual Death ; but that, after a long failing, she may conduct him to a peaceable abode, and to a tranquil harbour. Wherefore those who through old age or disease are nearer death, are by so much the more happy than the young and healthy ; just as those who, having traversed many seas and waving tides of the sea, arrive in harbour with greater gladness than those who again commence experiencing the perilous dangers of the long navigation that is scarcely begun. And there is no need to fear that, either at this port, or at Death, there is any evil. For it is the very end of all evils, and endures and passes off in the twinkling of an eye.

And on the testimony of the same Cicero we also read

that Cleobolus & Biton (25) were the sons of a famous lady, who was priestess of the goddess Juno, & on the day of the grand festival of this goddess arriving, the said children made ready a chariot in which they wished to conduct the priestess their mother to the temple. For the custom of the Greeks was, that every time when the Priests were to offer solemn sacrifices, they should be borne either of the people, or in chariots, — so much did they value their priests; and that if they had put a foot to the ground, they would not for all that day consent that they should offer any sacrifice. It happened thereupon, that this priestess going in the chariot, the horses which should conduct it fell dead suddenly in the middle of the road, and fully ten thousand paces from the temple. Her children seeing this, & that their mother could not go on foot, & that the chariot could not be drawn by any other animals (for there were none there), — they determined to put themselves into the place of the horses, & to draw the chariot, as if they were animals. Just as their Mother carried them nine months in her womb, in like manner would they carry her in this chariot, through the country up to the temple. When they saw this, the great multitude of the people that came to this festival, wondered at it greatly. And they said that these young children were worthy of a great reward. And in truth merit it they did.

After the feast was finished, the mother not knowing wherewith for merit so great to satisfy her children, prayed the goddess Juno that it might please her to give to these children the best thing which the gods could give to their dear friends. This the Goddess willingly accorded to her for so Heroic a work. Wherefore she caused the said children to fall asleep in health, and on the morrow that they should be found dead. Then to the mother complaining of this Juno said: Cheer thyself up; for the greatest vengeance



that the Gods can take on their enemies is to make them live long. And the greatest good with which we favour our friends, it is to make them die soon. The authors of this tale are Hizernachus in his Politics, (25) and Cicero in the first of the Tusculan Questions.

The like tale belongs to Trophonius and Agamedes. (26) These, for having rebuilt that ruinous temple of Apollo which in the isle of Delos was so sacred, had requested from the said Apollo for their reward the best thing of which human beings have need: he made them both on going out from supper suddenly die at the entrance of the said temple. I have willingly brought forward these two examples, to the end that all mortals may know that there is no good state in this life, except when it is finished. And if the end of living is not enjoyable, at least it is very profitable. However there is no necessity for grief, to complain of or to fear Death. A traveller indeed would be extremely unwise, if walking and toiling on the road he was setting himself to sing, and then for having finished the journey, was beginning to weep. Like folly would a sailor commit, if he was sorry for being arrived at the port: or that man who goes to battle, and sighs over the victory obtained by him. Much more is that man unwise and foolish, who walking on in order to go to Death, is vexed with himself for having met with it. For Death is the true refuge, the perfect health, the assured port, the entire victory, the flesh without bone, the fish without spine, the grain without chaff. Finally after Death we have no reason for weeping, nor any thing left to desire.

In the time of the emperor Hadrian, (27) died a very noble lady, parent of the Emperor, at whose death a Philosopher made an oration, in which he named many evils of life and many blessings of death. And so the Emperor

asked him, what thing Death was. He answered : Death is an eternal sleep, a dissolution of the body, a terror of the rich, a desire of the poor, an inevitable event, an uncertain pilgrimage, a thief of men, a Mother of sleep, a shadow of life, a separation of the living, a company of the dead. Finally, Death is a hangman for the wicked, a sovereign reward for the good. On which good words we ought continually to meditate. For if a drop of water through continual falling penetrates a hard rock ; also by continual meditation on death nothing is so hard but that it may be softened.

Seneca in an epistle (14) tells of a Philosopher, of whom it was demanded, what evil there was in death that men should fear it so much ? He answered : If any loss or evil is found in him who dies, it is not from the property of death, but from the vice of him who dies. In like manner we can say, that as the deaf cannot judge of words, nor the blind of colours, so little can he, who has never tasted Death, speak evil of Death. For of all those that are dead, not one complains of Death ; and of those who are living, all complain of life. If any one of the dead should return thence to speak with the living, and as one who had experience of it, should tell us if there was any evil in Death, — that would be a reason for having some terror thereof. Some great evil must they have done in life, who fear and speak ill of Death. For at that last hour, and at that final judgment, — it is there, where the good are known, and the bad are discovered. There are neither Kings, Emperors, Princes, Knights, nor rich, nor poor, nor sound, nor sick, nor happy, nor unfortunate, nor do I see any one who lives contented with his condition, except those who are dead : who in their sepulchres are in peace, and peaceably there



at rest, where they are not avaricious, covetous, proud, nor subject to any vices, — in a way that the state of the dead must be the most assured, since in this state we see no discontent. Next, those who are poor seek to grow rich ; — the sorrowful to rejoice, — the sick to obtain health ; but those who have so much fear of Death, seek no remedy so as not to have fear of it. Wherefore I should advise in this way, that every one should occupy himself in living well, in order not to fear Death so much. For the innocent life makes the assured Death.

The divine Plato, (28) being asked by Socrates, how he was demeaning himself during life, and how he should demean himself at death, answered : “ Know, O Socrates, that in my youth, I strove to live well, and in my old age I try to die well. And as life has been virtuous, I expect Death with great cheerfulness, and as I hold it no punishment to live, I shall hold it no fear to die.” Such words were certainly worthy of such a man. Much are people irritated when they have laboured much, and one pays them not for their toil : when they are faithful, and one makes no response to their loyalty ; when for their great services friends are ungrateful. O blessed are those who die ! to whom such misfortunes have not happened, and who are in the sepulchre without these regrets. For at that divine tribunal so equally is justice observed towards all, that at the same place which we deserve in life, at that are we stationed after death. There never was, nor is, nor will be a judge so just, who renders reward by weight and punishment by measure. For at no time are the innocent punished and the guilty acquitted. But at Death it is (not) so. For each one must hold it for certain, that if he has there a good right, he will obtain sentence to his profit.

Plutarch in his *Apophthegms* (29) recites that at the time when the great Cato was censor at Rome, a renowned

Roman died, who at his death shewed great fortitude and constancy ; and as others praised him for his unchanging and intrepid heart, and for the constant words which he spake while labouring in death : Cato the Censor laughed at those who praised this dead man so much, who was so assured, and who took death so well in accord, — saying to them : “ You are terrified by that which I laugh at ; and I laugh at that by which you are terrified. For consider the labours and perils, in which we pass this wretched life, and the security and repose with which we die. I say that there is need of greater effort to live, than of hardihood and great courage to die.”

We cannot deny that Cato spoke very wisely, since we see every day that virtuous persons endure hunger, thirst, cold, vexation, poverty, calumnies, sadneffes, enmities, and misfortunes. All which things it would be better worth seeing the end of in a single day, than to suffer them for any one hour. For an honourable death is a less evil than a troublesome life. O how inconsiderate are those who think not that they have only to die once, but that in truth from the day when we are born our death begins, and at the last day we have done with dying. And so Death is nothing else, if not to end the vigour of life. Reasonable will it be to say, that our infancy died, our youth died, our manhood died, and dies and will die our old age. From which reasons we can gather that we are dying each year, each month, each day, each hour, and each moment. So that thinking to pass life secure, Death is always going into ambush for us. And I cannot understand why we are so very much afraid to die, since from the very point at which we are born we seek nothing save Death. For we never have want of time for dying, never do we mistake or miss the road of death.

Seneca in one of his epistles narrates that to a Roman matron (14) bewailing her son who had died very young, a



Philosopher said: "Why, O Lady, dost thou bewail thy child?" She answered him: "I weep because he only lived fifteen years, and I desired that he should have lived fifty. For we mothers love our children so much, that never are we surfeited with seeing them, never do we cease to deplore them." Then this Philosopher said to her: "Lady, I pray thee tell me, Why thou dost not complain of the Gods for not having made thy son be born many years before, as thou complaineft that they have not let him live another fifty years? Thou weepest that he died before being aged, and thou weepest not that he was born so late. I tell thee for true that if thou dost not agree with me, not to be sorrowful for the one, thou oughtest not to weep for the other."

To this conforming himself Pliny said, (30) in one of his Epistles, that the best law which the Gods had given to human nature was, that nothing had perpetual life. For with the inordinate desire of living long, never should we attempt to go forth from this state of trouble.

Two Philosophers arguing before the Emperor Theodosius, (31) one of them forced himself to say, that it was good to procure Death: and the other in like manner said, that it was a necessary thing to abhor life. The good Theodosius answered: We mortals delight so much in loving and abhorring that under colour of loving life much, we give ourselves a very troublesome life. For we suffer so many things in order to preserve it, that it would at any time be worth while to lose it. And so say I moreover. To such folly have many vain men come, that also through fear of death they bestow care to accelerate it. And thinking of this, I should be of opinion, that we should not love life too much, nor through despair should we seek death too much. For men hardy and courageous ought not to abhor living as much as they may be able, nor to fear death when it shall come to them.

All praised what Theodosius said, as Paul the Deacon (32) recites in his life. Now the Philosophers may say what they will, but in my small judgment it appears to me, that he only will meet death without reluctance who for a long time before shall have made himself ready to meet it. For all sudden death is not only bitter to those who taste it; but also terrifies those who hear speak of it.

Lactantius said (33) that man ought to live in such a manner as if he must die in an hour. For men, who hold Death or its image before the eyes, it is impossible that they give place to evil thoughts. In my opinion and in the opinion of Apuleius, like folly it is to wish to shun that which cannot be avoided, as to desire that which cannot be had. And this I say for those who refuse the journey of Death, the road to which is a necessity. However to flee it is impossible. Those who have to make a great journey, if they need any thing by the road, they borrow from their companions; and if they forget any thing at their lodging, they write that it may be sent to them. However I sorrow for this, that when once we are dead, we are not suffered to return. We shall not be able to speak, and we shall not be permitted to write. Such as we shall be found, for such shall we be sentenced.

And what is more terrible than all this is, that the execution and the sentence will take place all in one day. Wherefore I advise all mortals, that we should live in such a manner, that at the hour of death we may be able to declare that we are living, not that we have lived. For he who has not lived well, it will be better for him not to have had life, which before the immortal God, who is immortal, will be counted as nothing for making us after this mortal life immortal like himself. To whom be glory and honour in the age of ages. Amen.



OF THE NECESSITY of the Death which lets nothing be durable.



SINCE of Death we have shown both the image and the admirable and salutary effects, it is necessary to offer some proof of its inevitable fatality to those who, being too much assured, do not fear it, and make no account of it. At which I am amazed how it can be, that the remembrance of death should be so distant from the thought of many, seeing that there is nothing which every day presents itself so much before our eyes.

First, Mortals, are they not so called from this little word Mort, *death*? Wherefore it is impossible to name ourselves, except our ears admonish us of Death. What lethargy is that? But from what assurance (I do not say insolence) can it happen, that we think so little of it? Have we drunk so much of this river of Lethe, which is called the river of oblivion, that of what ceases not to thrust itself into our thoughts, we have neither memory nor remembrance? Are we so hardened into stone that on seeing and hearing so much of death in the world, we think it ought never to overtake ourselves? Do we see a single one of the Ancients that is still upon the earth? In our time, ever do we see one of them whom Death has passed over?

The Elders have departed. And to them well suits the saying of Cicero: (23) They have lived, and we without any distinction are going after them, and our posterity will follow us. And in the manner of the rushing torrent we are precipitated to the West. In the midst of the slaughter of

the dying, we, about to die, are blind. And however much we have one & the same condition and one & the same fatality from our birth, we fear not to arrive at it. A young person will say: "Why dost thou admonish me to think of death, in order to make me lose all the joys of this world? My age is still entire. Very much is needed ere I may have the head grey, and the brow wrinkled. Let those fear death who are old and decrepid." But to such a one it must be answered: Which of the gods has promised wind, heat, and wrinkle? If we saw only the old men placed in the sepulchre, I should say, that until old age it would not be necessary to think of Death. But Death comes and carries off at every age; it sees those extinguished that are not yet born, keeping them from coming into life, oftener than taking them away from it. If from the breasts of their mothers it often comes to snatch them off,—if it makes no difference between sex, age, beauty, ugliness; if we see more of the young people than of the old borne to the sepulchre, I know not what youth, or any other worldly delusion will be able to assure us.

In addition to the images of death, here already figured above, do you wish that I should show you one of them natural, clear and manifest? In the first spring contemplate a flourishing tree, which is so covered with flowers, that scarcely is it possible to see upon it either branches or leaves; it puts forward into sight flowers so thick and beautiful, of fruits so great an abundance, that it appears impossible to find a place large enough for gathering them. But of so great a number of flowers, how few of them come to any good! For one part is gnawn by caterpillars,—another is spoiled by spiders; one part by the wind, or by the frost; another is beaten down by the rain. And that which is left, and which is formed into fruit, does it in your opinion all arrive at full maturity? Certainly not. Many fruits are eaten by worms, others are beaten down by the



winds and spoiled by the tempest. Some are rotted by too much rain. And many die through countless other calamities. So that at the end of so rich a hope, we obtain only a very few apples. (23)

Nor is human life pursued by less calamities. There are a thousand names of maladies, a thousand fortuitous cases of Death, by which Death tears away more before full age than it does by maturity of time. And scarcely among a hundred is there one that dies naturally; that is to say, for whom the humour at the root of life may not have been lessened or spoiled through excess. And seeing that the life of mortals is exposed to so many perils of death, what blindness is that of living so as if we were never obliged to die. I ask you, If enemies were at our gates to give us the assault, should we then go to prepare baths and banquets in order to make merry? And death is for us a more capital enemy; in every place, at every hour, in a thousand ambuscades he is near in order to surprise us. Meanwhile about it we take no care. We admire our gold, silver, and our goods. We care not to be nourished up in goodness; we covet honours, dignities and offices.

Certainly if we thought well of what the prophet tells us in the person of the sick King, — "Set thine house in order, for at once must thou die," — all these dawdling vanities would be bitter to us. Precious things seem vile to us, — the noble, the costly. And the figured Death, if he could speak, would say: For what, O avaricious man! dost thou amass so many treasures, since so soon I shall carry all away? Why for so brief a road dost thou prepare so much luggage? Hast thou forgotten what in the Gospel happened to him, to whom, when rejoicing in his well filled barns, and promising himself great cheer, it was said: "Fool, this night thy soul shall be taken away, and those things amassed by thee, to whom shall they belong?" At the day of death what will there remain to thee of all these things, for the acquiring of which thou hast spent all thine age? Whence wilt thou obtain aid, comfort and succour? From thy riches? They

can do nothing, and already have they other lords. From pleasures? But these, as with the body they have grown, so with the body they die. Shall we have recourse to the powers of youth? Wearied of each one, its old age is a death. Or shall we have hope in the comeliness of beauty, by which puffed up we would draw every one to our love? But all that has the fashion of the Roses, which bound up in the fingers immediately are drooping and dead. So beauty, gathered by death, immediately fades. But why do I say it fades?—nay more, that it becomes an abhorrence? For no one has loved the form of the living so much as he has had in abhorrence the extinct body of one dead.

Briefly, glory will not be able then to serve us. For she is evanescent with fortune and prosperity. Nor less fleeting are all thy friends. For then there is not one so faithful as not to abandon thee. And what will it serve thee, though they break their hearts through weeping, if at last they make themselves companions of death? The evils which they bring on themselves cannot deliver thee from death. Let us then be wise in good time, and make ready the things, with which furnished at the day of death, we shall assuredly be able to await that last day. Riches, pleasures, nobility, and whatever at other times had pleased us and been useful, certainly are only a burden and a vexation to us when dying. And then virtue has begun to be of service to us. It accompanies us without the possibility of being taken away from us; and if we are well furnished with them it is then doubtless that the virtues help us. It is then that there is need a man should show his virtue, his constancy and his magnanimity, in order to combat against the world, Death and Satan, which will present to him images far more horrible than those here above painted and described.

There all sins are represented;—the terrible justice of God; the very aspect of desperation. But why? According to the example of our Lord Jesus Christ, who on the Cross having had like aspects of temptations, when it was said to



him: "Ah! thou who destroyest the temple; He saved others; himself he cannot save; if he is the son of God let him come down;" he did not consider any of these things, nor did he hesitate at them; but to God his father he commended his spirit. In like manner by firm faith and constancy we must reject all these temptations; nor have regard to our merits or demerits; but only direct our thoughts to the mercy of God, which alone can sweeten the bitterness that is said to be in Death, and can conquer more than all our powers and our enemies.

Few people dare to say to the sick
the truth, although they perceive
that they are about to die.

IT is a pitiable thing, and therefore we ought to have great compassion for those, who being sick are themselves about to die. Not because we see them die; but because there is not a soul to tell them what they have to do, nor how they are to arrange for themselves and for their successors. And doubtless princes and great lords when they die are then in much greater perils than are the little people; and that is through the fault of the physicians, the great crowd of whom so much disturb one another that they know not what they are doing. And sometimes, either through dread of displeasing one or the other, or through fear that if a man should form an opinion entirely according to the verity of medicine, and that God should wish to take this Lord, they would let alone the suitable medicine to be ordered him, and through dissimulation allow an unsuitable medicine to be given, and one altogether contrary to the health of the patient.

In like manner the attendants near the sick Lord dare not say to him, that he is about to die; and much less will they say to him how needful it is that he should die. Thus

it is told of that King's fool, who hearing the physicians say, and also the attendants of the said lord around the bed of death, that he was about to depart, — the fool began immediately to dress, and put on his spurs, making himself ready for going away with the king ; to whom he went on to say : " Sire, how comes it that you wish to go away without me ? Everybody says that you are going away, and no where do I see any preparation for it." Doubtless the folly of this fool was of more profit to the king, than the false and cautious wisdom of the people of the court.

Returning to our subject : Many go to see the sick ; and I would to God that they did not go to visit them. For seeing the sick man having his eyes sunk, the flesh dry, the arms without pulse, the colour inflamed, the heat continual, the restless pain, the tongue swollen and black, and the vital spirits consumed ; and finally, seeing his body already almost a corpse, they nevertheless say to him, that he may have good hope, and that still there are many good signs of life. And so it may be that young people naturally desire to live, and that for all old men it may be a trouble to them to die, when at this last hour themselves see, it is not medicine, nor succour, nor remedy that they seek, nor is it hope in which they may take comfort in order to prolong life. And thence it follows that very often the wretched die without confession, without receiving their sacraments, and without giving orders, that the evils done by them should be repaired, and the wrongs which they held from others.

O ! if those who do such things knew the evil which they do, they would never commit so great a fault. For to take away from me my goods, to persecute my person, to blacken my good name, to ruin my house, to destroy my parentage, to scandalize my family, to criminate my life ; — these are deeds of a cruel enemy. But to be the occasion that I should lose my soul, from not advising it in necessity, that is a deed of a devil of hell. For worse than a devil is the man



who deceives the sick. To whom instead of giving aid, he sets himself to do injury, by promising him that he shall not die. More fuitable then is it to give him counsel for the conscience than to speak to him words pleafant for the body. We are in all things shameless with our friends during life, and we make ourselves shameful to them at death ; and this is what we ought never to do. For if the departed were not dead, and if we do not see those present every day dying, it appears to me that it would be a shame, and a fearful thing to say to the sick, that he alone must die. But since you know that he, and he as well as you, that we are all walking along this perilous journey, what shame or fear ought one to have in saying to his friend that he is at the termination of this journey ? If to-day the dead should arise, they would marvellously complain of their friends, not for any thing else, but for not having given them good counsel at the hour of death.

And there is no danger in counselling them well to prepare themselves, although they may be surpris'd at it. For inasmuch as we see many of those who have done their duty and who prepared for dying, escape well ; and those die who had made no preparation for it ; what injury do those persons cause who go to visit their sick friends to tell them, that they should make confession, that they should execute their will, that they should dispose of whatever they feel themselves to be burdened with, that they should receive the sacraments, that they should be reconciled with their enemies ? For certainly none of all these things make us die sooner or live longer. Never was blindness so blind, nor ignorance so gross as to be afraid or ashamed to counsel the sick to whom we are under obligation, as to what business they have, or what they would do if they were well. Prudent and wise men, before nature fails them, or forces them to die, ought of their own good accord and free will to die ; — that is to say, before they see themselves at this strait

hour, they should keep in due order the things of their consciences. For if we hold him foolish who wishes to pass the sea without ship, shall we hold him wise who has no preparation in order to pass from this world to the other? What does a man lose through having made due order of his condition and executed his will betimes? At what venture does he place his honour by reconciling himself before he dies with those with whom he had hatred or quarrel? What credit does that man lose who in life makes restitution of what he directs to be restored after death? In what can a man shew himself wiser than in discharging himself, by his own good will, of what after his death he will have to discharge by force of law? O how many grand personages and rich fathers of families, from not having occupied a single day in ordering their estate and in making their will, have caused their heirs and successors to go after plaint and process all their life? So that, thinking they had left goods to nourish their heirs, they have only left them to clerks, attorneys, and advocates.

The man who is a good and not a pretended Christian ought in such a manner to order his condition, and to correct his life every morning, as if he might not arrive at the night, or as if he might not see the following morning. For to speak the truth, in order to sustain our life there are many labours, but to clash with death there is but one blow. If faith is given to my words, I would counsel every person, that he should not dare to live in such a state, in which for all the gold of the world he would not be willing to die. The rich and the poor, the great and the little, all say and swear that they are afraid of death. To which I answer, that of him alone are we able to say with truth, that he fears to die, in whom we do not see made any amendment of his life. Wherefore all ought to finish before they make a finish, to end before they make an end, to die before they are dying, and to be buried before any one buries them.



For if they finish this very thing with themselves, with such facility will they leave this life, as they would remove from one house to another.

For the most part men strive to speak at leisure, to go at leisure, to drink at leisure, to eat at leisure ; only man is not willing to be urged on to die. Not without cause, I say, that to die men are hastened and urged on ; since we see them make their discharge in haste, order their will in haste, confess themselves in haste, join in the communion in haste, so that they take it and demand it so much later and so much without reason, that more does this haste profit all others than the salvation of their own souls. What does the helm profit when the ship is sunk ? What do weapons profit after that the battle is broken ? What do plaisters and medicines profit when the men are dead ?

I mean to say, what does it serve the sick after they are out of their senses, or have lost their thoughts, to call the priests to confess them ? Very badly indeed can that man make confession who has not judgment to repent. Are not people mistaken in saying, when we are old we will amend ? we will repent at death ? at death we will confess ? at death we will make restitution ? In my opinion that is not the part of a wise man or of a good Christian, to demand that he should have the remainder of his time for sinning, but that time fails for amending his life. Would to God that the third part of the time which people occupy only in thinking how they shall sin, were occupied by them in thinking how they ought to die. And would that the anxiousness which they employ in order to accomplish their evil desires were employed with the heart in deploring their sins. Whence it is a great misfortune that with so little care they pass life in vices and worldly pursuits, as if there were no God, who some day must demand from them an account of their deeds.

With bridle hanging down every body sins ; with the hope that in old age they will amend, and that at death

they have to repent. Wherefore I would wish to demand of him, who with such confidence commits sin, what certainty there is of coming to old age? and what assurance there is of having at death leisure to repent? For by experience we see many not coming to old age, and many who suddenly die. It is neither reasonable nor just that we should commit so many sins all our life, and that we wish only a single day or a single hour in order to deplore them and to repent of them. However great may be the divine clemency, can it suffice a person to have only a single hour in order to repent of his evil life? Therefore at all times would I advise, that since the sinner in order to amend wishes only a single hour, that this hour should not be the last. For the sigh which is made with good will and with good accord penetrates the heavens: but that which is made through constraint and necessity, scarcely does it pass beyond the covering of the house.

It is a laudable thing that they who visit the sick, should counsel them that they should confess, that they should join in the communion, pay their vows, and sigh for their sins. Finally it is especially well done to do all that. Ever would it be better to have it done beforehand and betimes. For the dexterous and painstaking mariner, when the sea is calm, then arrays himself and makes ready for the tempest. He who would wish deeply to consider how little one ought to esteem the goods of this world, when he goes to see a rich man die, will, on entering his chamber, behold him as a pitiable sick man. The wife demands her dowry; one of the daughters her thirds, — the other her fourths; the son the better part of the heritage; the nephew, a house; the physician, his salary; the apothecary, payment for his drugs; the creditors, their debts; the servants, their wages and salaries. And that which is worse than all, of those who must inherit or be the better for it, there is none to give him



a glaſs of water to drink, or to refresh for him his thirſty mouth.

Thoſe who ſhall read this or hear it, ought to conſider that what they ſee done at the death of their neighbours—this ſame on their own death will happen to them. For immediately that a rich man cloſes his eyes, ſuddenly do his heirs enter on great diſputes. And this not to ſee who ſhall beſt take charge of his ſoul ; but who the quickeſt ſhall take poſſeſſion of the goods which he leaves.

Wherefore it is much better, with the advice of the wife, to order ſuch things betimes, than thus in haſte to order them contrary to reaſon and at the importunity of thoſe who deſire them. Otherwiſe quarrel and contention are cauſed *among the ſurvivors* ſo great and injurious that they curſe the dead, and the hour at which he ever left them any goods. Daily we ſee experience of this. Wherefore it would be a ſuperfluous thing to wiſh to occupy this paper therewith.

At this hour, contenting myſelf with warning each perſon that he owes one death to God and not two, I ſay ; wherefore let every one betimes make ſuch good proviſion for well paying *that debt to his Creator*, that for it he may give us back in the other world that life ſo greatly happy, which cannot die.

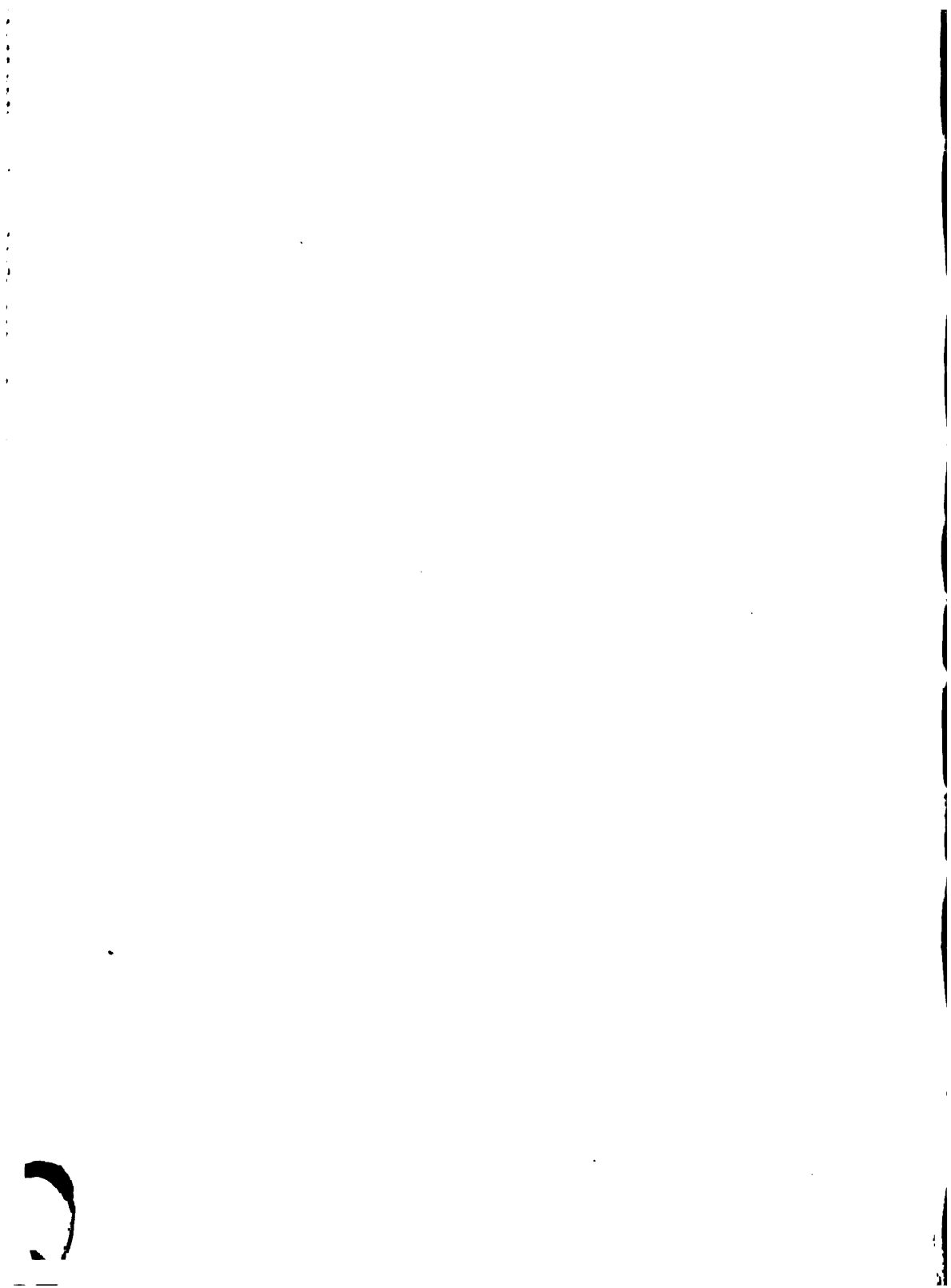
Amen.

NOTES AND APPENDIX

TO THE

*IMAGES AND ASPECTS OF
DEATH.*





NOTES.

BSERVATIONS on some of the statements made in the text, or on the authors therein referred to, seem required by a work like the present, were it only to save the reader trouble or uncertainty. Notes therefore are given, which, without aiming at being exhaustive of their respective subjects, will render it easier, should the inclination arise, to trace up to their sources various quotations and allusions, and also to judge with what degree of accuracy references have been introduced. My own persuasion is that the writer of the Epistle and of the Divers Pictures, Figures and Aspects of Death, &c., does not pretend to exactness, but rather to exhibit the sense, not the very words, of the authors of whose sentiments he makes use in order to illustrate and confirm his own.

Plainly, therefore, it is not necessary to hunt out every quotation or to multiply explanations. The work, whether in its text or in the artistic skill lavished upon it, speaks for itself; and the intelligent reader and spectator will gain more by the exercise of his own thought and eye-sight than by a superfluity of editorial comment.

Indeed the guidance supplied for examining the authors mentioned is very slight, and excepting when the Scriptures are quoted, never extends to chapter and section, much less to edition, volume or page; and some of the works, to which a brief reference is made, are spread over four or five, or even over ten or twelve folio tomes. Had a complete body of notes been attempted, the labour must have been greater than the results could justify.



(1)—CHARACTER THAU Γ OR T.

Page 107. The dedication to "Madame Jehanne Toufzele," from "un vray Zele," contains a play upon the words which has rendered it necessary to treat "Toufzele" and "Zele" as proper names, and to leave them untransliterated. It is the letter T, from the Hebrew character Thau, on which the author grounds his remarks, and curious if not interesting are the enquiries to which he leads.

First of all, however, we must briefly remark that in the phrase "Salut dun vray Zele" is given a clear intimation of the authorship of this dedication, and probably of the entire French text of this 1538 edition of the Images of Death. As mentioned elsewhere, "dun vray Zele" was the motto of a celebrated clergyman of Lyons, who flourished as a poet and an author when this work appeared,—his name Jean de Vauzelle,—and to him we are inclined to attribute, at any rate, the little Essays and Dissertations of the original work.

As is well known the last letter of the Hebrew alphabet Γ *thau* or Tau, was represented on ancient Samaritan coins in the form X, and in the Coptic alphabet by the form T, the same as the Greek *tau* and the Roman T. Both forms have been used as symbols or signs.

In his *Ancient Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 32, Kenrick informs us, "the *tau*, the emblem of life and key of mysteries, is placed on the lips of the king." The Hebrew text of Ezekiel ix. 4, corresponding to the words "set a mark upon the foreheads of the men," is translated in the Vulgate, "et signa tau," *mark thou the tau*, or cross.

A friend of mine, who is learned in this lore, informs me, that here in Ezekiel the *tau* is the mark of life, or of life that does not die; that Cain, the type of the natural man, or the Jew, killed Abel, the type of the spiritual man, or Christ; and that the mark or token given to Cain was the *tau*, on him the emblem of life upon earth. He adds that the subject is treated of in Godfrey Higgin's *Celtic Druids*, vol. iv. p. 7, who refers the *tau* to the "*crux aurata*" Φ , golden cross, of the Egyptian monuments, where O is

the emblem of divinity, and T the mark of life : that Sharpe's *Egyptian Mythology* frequently illustrates it, and, at p. 3, calls it the character of life ; that the T, the mark of life on earth, was the form of the crofs in the wildernefs on which the brazen ferpent was elevated : and that when our Lord was crucified, the T was rendered complete in him, becoming † : and now to Christians it is I. H. S. †, "in hoc † signo vinces," *by this fign † thou wilt conquer.*

Very much more, many pages might be added, but thefe remarks will fupply materials for thinking on the text, "ce caractere de Thau, tant célébré vers les Hebreux." For the ufe of the crofs in Chriftendom a brief expofition is fet forth in Walcott's *Sacred Archaeology*, p. 191-7, 8vo, Reeve, London, 1868. The fubject is alfo juft alluded to in the next note, *Jerome.*

(2) — SAINT JEROME.

Eusebius Hieronymus Sophronicus, a native of Stridon, a town on the confines of Dalmatia, was born probably about A.D. 345, and died A.D. 420. He was a man of great eloquence and learning, and efpecially of piety and virtue. An edition of his works by Erasmus was iffued at Bâle, in nine volumes folio, in 1516, and reprinted there in 1526. It was during this time that Erasmus and Holbein became acquainted. See Wornum's *Life and Works of Holbein*, p. 131-40. The portrait at Hampton court, "*Erasmus writing*," the undoubted work of Holbein, has on it, among other books, one marked "HIERONYMVS :"

All the works of S. Jerome were alfo published in Paris by Claude Chevallon, in 1533. In volume V. of this edition, leaf 107 M, the letter T *thau* is thus treated of :

"Et vt ad noſtra veniamus, antiquis Hebræorū literis, quibus vſq; hodie vtuntur Samaritani, extrema thau litera, crucis habet ſimilitudinem : quæ in Chriſtianorum frontibus pingitur, & frequenti manus inſcriptione ſignatur."

And when we come to our times, in the ancient letters of the Hebrews, which the Samaritans uſe at this very day [about A.D. 410], the laſt letter Thau has the image of the crofs, which is painted on the foreheads of Chriſtians, and by frequent inſcription marked on their hands.



It may be here mentioned that the words of the fac-simile text are not a close quotation ;—the same want of exactness belongs to several other of our author's references.

(3)—SAINT GREGORY.

The title "GREAT" is usually affixed to this name. He was of an illustrious Roman family, born in A.D. 544, prefect of Rome in 573, and, quitting secular employment, elected pontiff in 590, an office which he filled with great honour, until his death in 604.

An edition of his *Moralia in Job*, is dated at Bâle about 1470 ; and of his *Epistles* at Bruffels about 1475. The Benedictine edition of all his works, in four volumes folio, appeared at Paris, 1705, and from a copy in the Chetham Library, Manchester, the quotation is taken here :

Page 108. "*Whoever considers in what state.*" (Vol. i. col. 428, E.)

"*Dies mei breviabuntur & solum mihi superest sepulchrum.*" (Job xvii. 1.) § 33. Quenim considerat qualis erit in morte, semper fit timidus in operatione : atque unde in oculis suis jam quasi non vivit, inde veraciter in oculis sui conditoris vivit. Nil quod transeat appetit, unctis præsentis vitæ desideris contradicet : & pene mortuum se considerat, quia morituum minimè ignorat. Perfecta enim vita est mortis imitatio, quam dum iusti sollicitè peragunt, culparum laqueos evadunt. Unde scriptum est : *In omnibus operibus tuis memorare novissima tua, & in æternum non peccabis.*" (Ecclesiast. vii. 40), *i.e.*

My days will be shortened, and the grave alone remains for me. For whoever considers what he will be at death, always becomes timid in action : and since in his own eyes he is as if not living, therefore truly in the eyes of his maker does he live. He seeks after nothing which may be passing ; all the desires of the present life he opposes ; and he considers himself almost dead, because least of all is he ignorant that he is about to die. For perfect life is the imitation of death, which, while the just anxiously pass through, they escape the snares of sin. Whence it is written : *In all thy works remember the end, and never wilt thou do amiss.* (Ecclus. vi. 36.)

Page 150. "*Respecting which saint Gregory said :*" See *Works*, 1705, vol. i. col. 203, cap. 31, § 49.

"*Et bestiam terræ non formidabis.* Callidus quippe aduersarius bestia terræ dicitur : quia ad rapiendas mortis tempore peccatorum animas violentiâ crudelitatis efferatur. Quos enim viuentes blandiens decipit, morientes sæviens." *i.e.*

And thou shalt not dread the beast of the earth. Forsooth the crafty adversary

is called the beast of the earth: because in order to steal away the souls of sinners at the time of death he grows fierce in the violence of his cruelty. For those whom while living he deceives with blandishments, when they are dying he visits with rage.

See also vol. i. col. 408, bk. xii. *Mor.*

Page 155. "*There is nothing on which men think less.*" The text refers to the passage in Job vii. 6, on which S. Gregory comments, vol. i. col. 253, § 25, but the quotation is really from another part of his works. At the reference indicated (Job vii. 6), the holy father says:

"Amore præsentium non tenetur, qui vitæ hujus brevitatem recogitat;" and "§ 26. Congrua valde similitudine tempus carnis, telæ comparatur; quia sicut tela filis, sic vita mortalis diebus singulis proficit; sed quo ad argumentum proficit, eo ad incisionem tendit: quia sicut et superius diximus, cum tempora percepta prætereunt, ventura breviantur: & de universo vitæ spatio eo fiunt pauciora quæ veniunt, qui multa sunt quæ transferunt," &c. *i.e.*

By the love of present things he is not held, who often meditates on the brevity of this life; and By a very suitable comparison the time of the flesh is likened to a web of cloth; because as the web advances by threads, so does life by single days, but just as it advances in the argument, so does it tend to a cutting off; because, as we have said above, when the times in possession pass by, times future are shortened; and universally, in proportion as there are many days which have passed away, by that very space of life the days which are coming are made fewer.

(4) — THE WAGONER.

Page 110. "*Under his overthrown wagon.*" The wagoner here mentioned is represented on plate XLVI. in Douce's edition of Holbein's *Dance of Death*, 8vo, London, 1833. The plates of that edition were chiefly taken from the "IMAGINES MORTIS," *Images of Death*, a duodecimo printed at Lyons in 1547; they include all the plates of our *fac-simile* reprint of the Lyons edition of 1538, and eight others, — in all forty-nine.

The wagoner deserves all the praise that our text bestows upon it. When the French edition of 1538, the *first* that was published, was in progress, the wood-cut of the wagoner was not sufficiently advanced to be admitted into the series, and the death of the



engraver is assigned as the reason why it was not then finished. Some other hand gave it the last touches,—and with seven others, the designs of which have also been attributed to Holbein, the wagoner was printed in 1547 among the *Images of Death*.

(5) — LAMPRIDIUS.

Aelius Lampridius Spartianus, a Latin writer of the fourth century, was one of the six authors *Historiæ Augustæ*, which extends from Hadrian A.D. 117, to the death of Carinus A.D. 284. Editions of these writers were issued at Milan in 1475, and at Venice in 1489, also in 1516 and 1519, just before Holbein's fame was established.

To Lampridius are ascribed the Biographies of Commodus, A.D. 161–92; Antoninus Diadumenus, 208–18; Elagabalus, 205–22; and Alexander Severus, 205–35.

Page 111. “*Severus . . . kept in his cabinet the images of Virgil*,” &c. The passage referred to is the following:

“Virgilium autem, Platonem poetarum vocabat, eiusque imaginem cum Ciceronis simulacro, in secundo larario, ubi & Achilles & magnorum virorum. Alexandrum verò magnum inter diuos & optimos in larario maiore consecrauit.”

See *Historiæ Augustæ Scriptores* VI. Folio. Paris M.DC.XX., p. 114 D. Also,

“In larario suo (in quo & diuos principes, sed optimos electos & animas sanctiores, in queis & Apollonium, & quantum scriptor suorum temporum dicit CHRISTVM, Abraham & Orphevm, & huiuscemodi deos habebat, ac maiorum effigies rem diuinam faciebat.” *i.e.*

He called Virgil the Plato of poets, and his image with the likeness of Cicero he placed in his second household shrine, where also were the figures of Achilles and of great men. But Alexander the Great he consecrated in his greater household shrine among the Gods and the most excellent of men.

In his own shrine he performed divine rites, and there he placed deified princes, and chosen men of excellence, and the more sacred minds, among whom he accounted as gods Apollonius, and as a writer of his own times says, Christ, Abraham and Orpheus, and the effigies of his ancestors.

Among the Roman emperors few are of fairer fame than Alexander

Severus ; and after recording that " he seems to have affected a kind of universalism," Milman, in his *History of Christianity* vol. ii. p. 230, gives the substance of the above extracts from Lampridius : " In his own palace, with respectful indifference he enshrined, as it were, as his household deities the representatives of the different religions or philosophic systems which were prevalent in the Roman empire, — Orpheus, Abraham, Christ, and Apollonius of Thyana."

(6) — HEGESIAS.

A disciple and teacher of the Cyrenaic sect, who maintained that the present hour is to be enjoyed and that life and death are indifferent. About 300 B.C., " he wrote a book to prove that death, as the cure of all evil, is the greatest good. Hence he obtained the appellation of *πείσιθανος*, the advocate of death." See Enfield's *Hist. of Philosophy*, vol. i. p. 198 ; and Smith's *Greek and Roman Biog.*, vol. ii. p. 368.

Page 111. " *Makes me desire another Hegesias.*" From Cicero's *Tusculan Questions*, bk. i. p. 34, we learn that the work of Hegesias was so persuasive as to impel several persons to seek death as preferable to life. Having said that death leads from evils, not from blessings, Cicero continues with the statement :

" Hoc quidem a cyrenaico Hegesia, sic copiose disputatur, ut is a rege Ptolemæo prohibitus esse dicitur illa in scholis dicere, quod multi, his auditis, mortem sibi ipsi consciscerent. Callimachi quidem epigramma in Ambracia tam Cleombrotum est ; quem ait, quum nihil ei accidisset adversi, e muro se in mare abjecisse, lecto Platonis libro. Ejus autem, quem dixi ; Hegesiæ liber est, *Ἀποκαρπείων*, quod a vita quidem per inediam discedens, revocatur ab amicis : quibus respondens, vitæ humanæ enumerat incommoda," &c. *i.e.*

This subject is so copiously argued by Hegesias, a cyrenaic philosopher, that he is said to have been prohibited by king Ptolemy from speaking those things in the schools, because many on hearing them became guilty of their own death. There is an epigram by Callimachus on Cleombrotus of Ambracia, who, though nothing adverse had happened to him, after reading Plato's book, threw himself from a wall into the sea. Of the Hygesias, whom I have named, there is a book named *Giving up Life*, or *Resolving to die*, because a certain man departing from life by means of hunger is called back by his friends ; to whom on answering he enumerates the disadvantages of life.



(7)—SAINT JEROME.

Page 112. "*Advifes in an epistle.*" "S. HIERONYMI EPISTOLÆ" had been printed at Rome as early as 1468 and 1470; and a French translation was issued at Paris in 1520. Of Jerome's *Works*, the Benedictine edition, 1693-1706, in five folio volumes, contains 126 epistles from or to the holy father; and that of Villarſi, Verona, 1734-42, in eleven volumes folio, publishes no leſs than 150 of theſe epistles. The quotation given in the text we have not verified; but in Epistle 47, Benedictine edit., vol. iv. ſecond part, col. 562, Jerome writes to Furia:

"Cogita quotidie te eſſe morituram, et nunquam de ſecundis nuptiis cogita-
bis;" *i.e.* Think daily that thou art about to die, and never wilt thou think of
ſecond nuptials.

The *Epitaphium* of Marcella, vol. i. l. 43 B, Paris 1534, ſets up
the precept:

"Memento ſemper diem mortis, & nunquam peccabis." *Remember always
the day of death, and never wilt thou ſin.*

(8)—THESSALONIANS.

Page 113. "*In the epistle to the Theſſalonians.*" This, as in other
caſes, is a very looſe reference, there being *two* epistles. The paſ-
ſage which our author had in view is in the Firſt Epistle, iv. 13, 14,
according to the received Engliſh verſion:

"But I would not have you to be ignorant, brethren, concerning them which
are aſleep, that ye ſorrow not, even as others which have no hope. For if we
believe that Jeſus died and roſe again, even ſo them alſo which ſleep in Jeſus
will God bring with them."

The ſame thought is expreſſed by one of earlier time, in the book
of Daniel, xii. 2, 3:

"And many of them that ſleep in the duſt of the earth ſhall awake, ſome to
everlaſting life, and ſome to ſhame and everlaſting contempt. And they that be
wiſe ſhall ſhine as the brightneſs of the firmament; and they that turn many to
righteouſneſs as the ſtars for ever and ever."

A line or two before the reference to the firſt Epistle to the

Theſſalonians occurs the exclamation, "O Mort, ie feray ta Mort." To this there is a ſimilar expreſſion in the prophet Hoſea xiii. 14, which the writer had probably in mind: "O death, I will be thy plagues; O grave, I will be thy deſtruction."

S. Jerome, vol. i. f. 70 A, Paris 1534, refers to the paſſage in Hoſea, and uſes the words:

"Ero mors tua O mors, ero morſus tuus inferne:"

and juſt after, f. 70 B, remarks that S. Paul calls death a ſleep:

"Neq; enim mors, ſed dormitio & fomnus appellat."

(9)—DAVID—SAINT PAUL.

Page 117. "*The ſpiritual ſpouſe*"—"They are the robes." In what is often regarded as the Marriage Song of Chriſt and his Church (Pſalm xlv.), David thus ſpeaks of the ſpiritual ſpouſe, (verſes 13, 14):

"The king's daughter is all glorious within: her clothing is of wrought gold. She ſhall be brought unto the king in raiment of needle-work."

Saint Paul not unfrequently ſpeaks of Chriſtian graces as the veſture in which we ſhould be clothed. Thus, in Coloſſians iii. 12-14, he ſays:

"Put on therefore, as the elect of God, holy and beloved, bowels of mercies, kindneſs, humbleneſs of mind, meekneſs, longſuffering; forbearing one another, and forgiving one another, if any man have a quarrel againſt any: even as Chriſt forgave you, ſo alſo do ye. And above all theſe things put on charity, which is the bond of perfectneſs."

But the words, "*affin que cheminons honneſtemēt*," point to 1 Theſſalonians iv. 10-12:

"We beſeech you, brethren, that ye increaſe more and more, and that ye ſtudy to be quiet, and to do your own buſineſs, and to work with your own hands, as we commanded you: that ye may walk honeſtly toward them that are without."

(10)—SAINT BERNARD.

S. Bernard, the juſtly celebrated abbot of Clairvaux, in Champagne, was born at Fontaine, in Burgundy, A.D. 1091, and died in

his convent A.D. 1153. He was canonized in the year 1174, and is one of the most distinguished names in the Roman calendar. For his life consult Neander's *St. Bernard and his Times*; Berlin 1813; or the various Biographical Dictionaries.

Of his writings various portions were printed previous to the time of Holbein; as his *Sermons* in 1475; his *Epistles* in 1481; his *MUSIC* in 1517; and his treatise *On the way of living well in the Christian religion* in 1520. Of his collected Works the best edition is that of Mabillon, 2 vols. folio, Paris 1690; and again 1719. Our references however are to *Sancti Bernardi Opera omnia*, folio, Antwerp 1620.

Page 118. "*Written in the Apocalypse*," (iii. 18.) "I counsel thee to buy of me gold tried in the fire that thou mayst be rich, and white raiment that thou mayst be clothed."

As a comment on these words we may take a passage in Bernard's Works, col. 1251, where he speaks of the plain and humble vestments in which the Church of Christ delights:

"*Talia debent esse vestimenta servorum & ancillarum Dei, in quibus nihil possit notari novitatis, nihil superfluitatis, nihil vanitatis, nihil quod pertineat ad superbiam & ad vanam gloriam.*" *i.e.*

Such ought to be the vestments of the servants and hand-maidens of God, in which there can be noted nothing of novelty, nothing of superfluity, nothing of vanity, nothing which pertains to pride and vain glory.

Page 119. "*Let us hasten to go to the place more sure.*" To illustrate this exhortation we may take the declaration, col. 74 M:

"*In petra exaltatus, in petra securus, in petra firmiter sto. Securus ab hoste, fortis a casu, & hoc quoniam exaltatus à terra. Anceps est enim & caducum terrenum omne. Conuersatio nostra in cœlis sit, & nec cadere nec delicti formidamus. In cœlis petra, in illa firmitas & securitas est.*"

On the rock exalted, on the rock secure, on the rock I firmly stand. Secure from my enemy, brave against falling, and this because I am exalted from the earth. For doubtful and falling is every earthly thing. Let our conversation be in heaven, and we shall dread neither to fall nor to be cast down. In heaven there is rock, and on that rock firmness and security.

So S. Bernard declares, col. 127 I, death to be "*ianua vitæ, porta gloriæ*," *the door of life, the gate of glory.*

Page 153. "To this effect saint Bernard (*In lib. medi.*) says." A reference that remains unverified.

(11)—NUMBERING OF PSALMS, &c.

Pages 123, 131, 132, 133, 134, 136, 139. The numbering of the Psalms in the Latin Vulgate, which was used in Holbein's *Simulachres & Historiees Faces de la Mort*, differs from the numbering in our authorized English version; hence the apparent discrepancy between the *fac-simile* reprint of *The Images of Death* and the translation. This remark applies to all the quotations from the book of Psalms. And in the other books of the Scriptures the numbering of the chapters as given in *The Images of Death* is sometimes inaccurate; in such cases we of course adopt the correct reference.

Page 138. In the Latin Vulgate there are reckoned *four* books of Kings, the *first* and *second* of Samuel being accounted the *first* and *second* of Kings.

Page 163. "The like happens in chapter xiv." The book of Daniel of the Old Testament counts only *twelve* chapters; but in the Apocrypha there are certain fragments, which are assigned to the same book. One of these is the *History of the Destruction of Bel and the Dragon*, which is said to have been cut off from the end of the book of Daniel; it narrates at the 31st verse, that Daniel was a second time cast into the den of lions, "where he was six days." This portion, originally written in Greek, constitutes chapter xiv. in the Septuagint. See Schuman's *Introduction to the books of the Old and New Testament*, London 1849, pp. 192-4, on the Additions to Daniel.

S. Jerome, in his *Proem. ad Comm.* on Daniel, plainly declares these additions to be fables, or as he terms them, "a false story written in the Greek language."

(12)—LESION.

Page 141. "*Lapis* . . . comes from *lesion*." *Lætio*, from *lædo* to hurt, undoubtedly means *injury*, but derivations as our author makes them are so extremely fanciful as not to deserve either refutation or amendment.

(13)—SAINT AUGUSTIN.

Of AURELIUS AUGUSTINUS, "the most illustrious of the Latin Fathers," a very able and interesting memoir is supplied in Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*, vol. i. p. 420-423. He was born at Tagaste in Numidia, A.D. 354, and after a life of singular variety he died bishop of Hippo, A.D. 430. His writings are very voluminous. The earliest edition, in nine volumes folio, was printed at Bâle in 1506; and from that city in 1529 proceeded, in ten folio tomes, the edition which Erasmus, the friend of Holbein superintended, and which probably was the edition used by the author of *Images and Aspects of Death*. It is however to the Paris Benedictine edition, in eleven tomes or eight volumes folio, 1679-1700, that our references are made.

Page 142. "*Opportune Death in a thousand ways*." The reference is to Augustin's *Solilo*. 3.

Page 148. "*It is the most just punishment of sin*."—the reference being to the *Confessions* 1. A similar sentiment occurs in vol. i. col. 631, being bk. iii. ch. 18, § 53 :

"Illa est enim peccati poena justissima, ut amittat quisque quo bene uti noluit, cum sine ulla posset difficultate, si vellet. Id est autem, ut qui sciens recte non facit, amittat scire quid rectum sit : & qui recte facere cum posset noluit, amittat posse cum velit." *i.e.*

That is a most just punishment of sin, to cause any one to lose whatever he hath been unwilling to employ well, since without any difficulty he could do it, if he would. That is, — whoever knowing the right does not practise it, should lose the power of knowing what may be right : and whoever has been unwilling to act rightly when he could, should lose the power when he wills.

Page 157. "*Then is the living man as if continually dying.*" The last part of the preceding sentence, probably by error of the prefs, omits the negative, and should be read, "*It is certain that man does not die immediately after the sin.*" The reference given is to the work *De Civitate Dei*; and at bk. xiv. col. 349, cap. 1, we read :

"Per inobedientiam primi hominis in secundæ mortis perpetuitatem ruituros omnes fuisse, nisi multos Dei Gratia liberaret." *i.e.*

Through the disobedience of the first man all were about to rush into the perpetuity of the second death, unless God's Grace should set many free.

And again :

"Mortis autem regnum in homines usque adeo dominatum est, ut omnes in secundam quoque mortem, cujus nullus est finis, poena debita præcipites ageret, nisi inde quosdam indebita Dei gratia liberaret." *i.e.*

The kingdom of death ruled over all men so far that the punishment due would have driven all headlong into the second death of which there is no end, unless the undeserved grace of God should therefrom set certain men free.

Page 167. "*Jesus Christ . . . by his single death has destroyed our double death.*" See *De Trinitate*, bk. iv. ch. 3, § 5 and 6, in vol. viii. cols. 812-15; Paris fol. 1694. The subject treated of is that the one death and resurrection of Christ's body led to salvation from our double death and to the resurrection of body and soul; and also that the single death of Christ compensates for our double death; the conclusion being :

"Una ergo mors nostri Salvatoris duabus mortibus nostris saluti fuit." *i.e.*

Therefore the one death of our Saviour hath been salvation from our two deaths.

S. Jerome to Theodora, vol. i. fol. 70 B, Paris 1534, uses the expression :

"Vt mors illius morte moreretur," — *that death by his death might die.*

(14) — SENECA.

Again we refer to Dr. Smith's *Dictionary*, vol. iii. pp. 778-83, for information. L. ANNÆUS SENECA was a native of Cordova in Spain, born a few years before Christ. He was suffocated in a



vapour bath, A.D. 65, in the reign of the infamous Nero, whose tutor he had been. His numerous writings, chiefly on moral and philosophical subjects, have gained for him a lasting renown; they were first printed at Naples in 1475, folio. Various portions, both in the original Latin, and in translations, French, Spanish and Italian, had been issued before and during Holbein's days. Our references however are to the beautiful Elzevir edition, 3 vols. 12mo. Leyden 1640.

Page 143. "*There are other kinds of death mingled with hope.*" See Seneca's Epistle xxx., vol. ii. p. 83 :

"Alia genera mortis, spei mixta sunt. Definit morbus, incendium extinguitur, ruina quos videbatur oppressura depofuit: mare quos hauserat, eadem vi qua forbebat, ejecit incolumes; gladium miles ab ipsa perituri cervice revocavit: nihil habet quod speret, quem senectus ducit ad mortem: huic uni intercedi non potest." *i.e.*

Other kinds of death are mingled with hope. Sickness ceases, fire is extinguished, destruction has resigned those whom it appeared about to overwhelm: the sea those whom it had drawn in, it has cast forth unharmed, by the same force with which it swallowed them up; and the soldier has called back the sword from the very neck of him who was about to perish; but nothing which he can hope in hath the man whom old age is leading to death: for him alone it is not possible to make intercession.

It will be seen that the quotation by our author is not exact, — but as in many other instances it is an adoption of the sentiment without an exact verbal agreement.

Page 143. "*The good Seneca . . . offers a good remedy.*" In his 6th book of *Natural Questions*, vol. ii. p. 675, Seneca is declaring: "Death is the law of nature, death the tribute and duty of mortals, and is the remedy of all evils. Whoever fears it will desire it." He then adds:

"Omnibus omiffis, hoc unum, Lucili, meditate, ne mortis nomen reformides: effice illam tibi cogitatione multa familiarem: ut fi ita tulerit, poffis illi vel obiviam exire." *i.e.*

All other things being omitted, this one thing, O Lucilius, meditate, that thou mayst not dread the name of death: by much thought make death familiar to thee: that if fo it be required, thou mayst be able even to go forth and meet him.

A fine sentiment feebly expreffed in the French text.

Page 149. "O thou insensate, thou forgetter of thy frailty." The quotation is from the 2nd book of *Natural Questions*, ch. lix. vol. ii. p. 569:

"O te dementem & oblitum fragilitatis tuæ, si tunc mortem times, cum tonat!" *i.e.*

O insensate and forgetful of thy frailty, if then thou fearest death, when it thunders!

Page 156. "None of us knows how near his term may be." See Epistle ci. vol. ii. p. 396:

"Stat quidem terminus nobis, ubi illum inexorabilis fatorum necessitas fixit: fed nemo scit nostrum, quam prope verfetur. Sic itaque formemus animum, tanquam ad extrema ventum fit: nihil differamus, quotidie cum vita paria faciamus." *i.e.*

There stands indeed a boundary for us, where an inexorable necessity of the fates has fixed it: but no one of us knows how near it may be. Let us therefore so form our mind as if the last day were come; let us defer nothing; daily let us settle our accounts with life.

Page 173. "Seneca in an epistle tells of a Philosopher." Among Seneca's writings there is a treatise *Concerning Consolation*, vol. i. pp. 152-87. It is addressed to Marcia, a rich and cultivated lady, on occasion of the death of her son; but this does not appear to be the Roman matron intended by our French author. Similar sentiments to those quoted occur indeed in the treatise, but not the same. Besides the reference is to one of Seneca's *Epistles*. Of these epistles the lxiii., vol. ii. p. 161, offers consolation *respecting the death of a friend*; and the xcix., vol. ii. p. 385, *concerning the death of a son*; but neither of the two contains exactly the same expressions with those in *The Images and Aspects of Death*. As in other instances, it is likely that the reference is of a general nature, to Seneca's thoughts, rather than to his very words.

Page 175. "Bewailing her son who had died very young." This quotation from Seneca has the appearance of so much exactness, that I have been very reluctant to say I do not find it in his epistles, to one of which reference is made. Consult ed. 1640, vol. i. p. 165; vol. ii. pp. 164, 385, 717.



(15) — CORROZET.

Page 144. "*They come and burn themselves in the candle.*" This is a proverbial expression which may be illustrated from a contemporary work, — Corrozet's *Hecatographie*, Paris 1540. We there find the Device of *The Butterflies and the Candle*, set to the motto, "*La guerre douce aux inexperiencez,*" and explained by a stanza, very similar in construction to those which explain the *Images of Death*.

"Les Papillons se ont bruler
A la chandelle qui relucyt.
Tel veult à la bataille aller
Qui ne scaict combien guerre nuyct."

To the same effect is the motto in Giovio and Symeoni's *Sententiose Imprese*, Lyons 1562: "*Cofi troppo piacer conduce a morte,*—*too much pleasure leads to death*, the device being the same as in Corrozet.

"Il moderato amor si loda & prezza,
Ma il troppo apporta danno & dishonore,
Et spesso manca nel souerchio ardore,
Qual semplice farfalla al lume auuezza." *i.e.*

In moderation Love is praised and prized, —
Lofs and dishonour in excess it brings :
In burning warmth how fail its boasted wings,
As simple butterflies in light chastified.

It may be noted that Gilles Corrozet wrote the French commendatory verses for Holbein's *Icones Historiarum Veteris Testamenti*, Lyons 1547; and it has been conjectured that the French stanzas to Holbein's *Simulachres & Historiees Faces de la Mort*, Lyons 1538, were also of his composition.* The stanza and the style are very similar to those of the *Hecatographie*, 1540, — which is undoubtedly a work by Corrozet.

(16) — MENE . . . TEKEL . . . PERES.

Page 145. "*Daniel . . . set forth the words in this manner.*" On the passage in Daniel v. 25–28, Dr. Adam Clarke observes:

* Some however assign the stanzas to Jean de Vauzelles.

"Each word stands for a short sentence, מנא *mene*, signifies NUMERATION; תקל *tekel*, WEIGHING; and פרס *pheres*, DIVISION. And so the Arabic translates them; *makeefon*, measured; *meusnonon*, weighed; *makefoomon*, divided.

(17) — HERODOTUS.

Page 145. "*As the Master of Histories says*," i.e. Herodotus, one of the earliest of Greek historians. He was born at Halicarnassus, a renowned city of Caria in Asia Minor, B.C. 484, and survived the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, B.C. 431. In his celebrated Histories, *Clio* I. c. 191, he describes the capture of Babylon, by Cyrus and the Persians, on a festival day, when the river-gates were unguarded.

A Latin version of Herodotus was printed at Venice in 1473, and the Greek text also at Venice in 1502; it may be to this edition that our author refers.

(18) — BELSHAZZAR.

Page 145. "*Belshazzar, which is interpreted Confusion*." A very different and more probable signification has been assigned to the name Belshazzar, — *Master of treasures*; but in the first syllable, the idea of mixture or confusion sometimes prevails.

(19) — JERUSALEM.

Page 151. "*Within the gates of Jerusalem*." Here, as elsewhere, our author's quotations from the Holy Scriptures are not made with entire exactness; the sense is accurately maintained, but the very words are not adhered to. See Jeremiah xvii. 21:

"Thus saith the LORD: Take heed to yourselves and bear no burden on the sabbath day, nor bring it in by the gates of Jerusalem." And *verses* 24, 25: "If ye diligently hearken unto me, saith the LORD, to bring in no burden through the gates of this city on the sabbath day, but hallow the sabbath day, to do no work therein; then shall there enter into the gates of this city kings and princes sitting upon the throne of David," &c.



(20)—LUCIAN OF SAMOSATA.

He was a Greek writer of Syrian parentage and birth, A.D. 120–200. His fame rests not so much on his numerous works as on his unscrupulous wit and humour. To recapitulate them would occupy too much space; and we refer to the account given of them in the *Greek and Roman Biog.*, vol. i. p. 812–22. His *Dialogues* were first printed at Florence in 1496, and his *Works* at Venice in 1503. Useful editions of his *Works* were issued at Amsterdam, in 2 vols. 8vo, in 1687; and in 3 vols. 4to in 1743.

Page 157. “Lucian . . . in his *Dialogue of Images*.” Our author’s direct reference is to Lucian’s *Εἰκόνες Images*, a work in which, according to Wieland, the writer sought to flatter the wife of Marcus Antoninus; but many illustrations of *The Images and Aspects of Death* might be derived from *Οἱ Νεκρικοὶ Διάλογοι, Dialogues of the Dead*, a series of satires on the vanity of human pursuits. There are imitations of these Dialogues in French, by Fontenelle, in his *Nouveaux Dialogues des Morts*, 12mo, Paris 1693; and in English by Lord Lyttleton’s *Dialogues of the Dead*, of which the fourth edition, corrected and completed, was published in 8vo, in 1765.

The whole of the Dialogue known as *Εἰκόνες*, or *Images*, is devoted to the description of the absolutely perfect woman, perfect in beauty of outward form, and perfect in the graces of inward loveliness and virtue. And the image, “expressed and admirable; in action like an angel; in apprehension like a god; the beauty of the world, the paragon of animals,” *Hamlet*, act ii. sc. 2,—is really built up by Lucian out of the collected excellencies, bodily and mental, of the most eminent of womankind. He has described to his friend Polystrates, how the hair was from the great painter Euphranor, the eyebrows from Polygnotus, the fineness of the cheeks, the clothing, the lips from Aetion, and the rest of the body from Apelles; when the objection is raised, vol. ii. p. 8: “τῶν δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγαθῶν, ἀθέατος εἶ, οὐδὲ οἶσθα ὅσον το κάλλος ἐκείτο ἐστιν αὐτῆς, μακρῶ τινὲ ἄμεινον, καὶ θεοειδέστερον τοῦ σώματος.” *i.e.*



Thou art incapable of seeing the beauties of the soul ; neither knowest thou how great that beauty is, and how it is far better and more divine than any beauty of the body.

The qualities of the soul are then described, and the acknowledgment freely made : “ *Ἀληθὴ φῆς, ὃ Λυκίῃε ὥστε εἰ δοκεῖ, ἀναμίξαντες ἤδη τὰς εἰκόνας, ἣν τε σὺ ἐπλασας, τὴν τοῦ σώματος, καὶ ὃς ἐγὼ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐγραψάμην, μίαν ἐξ ἀπασῶν συνθέντες βιβλίον καταθέμενοι, παρέχωμην ἀπασὶ θαυμάζειν, τοῖς γε νῦν οὖσι, καὶ τοῖς ἐν ὑστέρω ἐσόμενοις.*” Vol. ii. p. 15.

You speak the truth, Lucian, so that if you think well, having already mixed the images, — the one which thou hast fashioned being of the body, and that which I have described of the soul, — out of all we make one, — we set them together in a book, and exhibit them for all men to admire, both for the present generation and for the future.

(21) — TOBIT.

Page 166. “ *Tobit called Tobit his son,*” &c. The book of Tobit, probably a fiction and not a history, is a very pleasing picture of domestic life, and shows how by divine aid severe trials may be overcome. The original, composed in Hebrew, has been lost, but the narrative exists in several versions. See Schumann *On the Old and New Testament*, pp. 174–75. Jerome is the first to mention the book ; Augustin recommended it, and Luther agrees with him. The passage referred to is chapter xiv. 2 :

“ And when he was very aged, he called his son and the six sons of his son, and said to him : Take thy children : for behold I am aged, and am ready to depart out of this life.”

The 11th verse of this chapter adds :

“ When he had said these things, he gave up the ghost in his bed, being an hundred and eight and fifty years old, and he buried him honourably.”

(22) — ARISTOTLE OF STAGEIRA.

A name too famous to need any other notice here than the dates of his birth and death ; B.C. 384–322. For a full account of his life and works consult Smith’s *Gk. and Rom. Biog.*, vol. i. pp. 317–
P



344. The first edition of his works in Greek is the Aldine, Venice 1495-98, in five folio volumes; and in 1531 this edition was followed by another at Bâle, two tomes in one volume folio. It was edited by the care of Erasmus. Again therefore can we bring into juxtaposition Holbein's name and that of the famous scholar whose friendship he enjoyed. The edition however which we make use of is Scaliger's *Aristotelis Historia de Animalibus*, folio, Tolosæ 1619.

Page 169. "*Aristotle said concerning the stream called Hypanis.*" "Περὶ δὲ τὸν Ὑπάνην ποταμὸν τὸν περὶ Βόσπορον τὸν Κιμμερικὸν, ὑπὸ τροπᾶς θερινᾶς, καταφέρονται ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ οἶον θύλακοι μέζους ῥαγῶν· ἐξ ὧν ῥηγνυμένων, ἐξέρχεται ζῶον πτερωτὸν, τεράπειον· ζῇ δὲ καὶ πέτεται μεχρὶ δελῆς· καταφερομένου δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου, ἀπομαραίνεται, καὶ ἅμεινον θυομένου ἀποθνήσκει, βιοῦν ἡμέραν μίαν, διὸ καὶ καλεῖται Εἰφήμερον." Bk. v. § 231. p. 605. See also Bekker's *Aristotle*, 4to, Berlin 1831, vol. i., p. 552, bk. v. cap. 19.

On the river Hypanis, which flows into the Cimmerian Bosphorus, about the summer solstice there are brought down upon the river alone bags larger than berries, from which, when broken, there issues forth a winged four-footed animal. And it lives and flies about until evening. But as the sun goes down it grows weak, and at sun-set it dies, living a single day; wherefore it is called, *Ephemeron*, i.e. day-lasting.

(23)—M. TULLIUS CICERO.

For this name of renown we also refer to the *Gk. and Rom. Biography*, vol. i. pp. 708-45. He was born near Arpinum in Italy B.C. 106, and was assassinated B.C. 43. The collected works of Cicero were first printed at Milan, in four vols. folio, in 1498. Other editions followed, and in 1528 there was one published at Bâle, in two vols. folio. The same year Erasmus revised for Froben, the celebrated printer, "a new edition of Cicero's Tusculan Disputations," and he prefixed to it an elegant preface, in which the merits of Cicero were very zealously upheld. These Tusculan Disputations or Questions are several times quoted in Holbein's

Images and Aspects of Death. Portraits both of Erasmus and of Froben were painted by Holbein, and they have survived to the present day. See Woltmann's *Holbein und seine Zeit*; Leipzig 1868. Erfter Theil, pp. 260 and 272.

Page 170. "Cicero . . . said it well: *Thou hast sleep for an image of Death.*" The quotation is from the *Tusculan Disputations*: see Külmer's edition, Jenæ 1846, vol. i. 38, § 92, p. 145. Cicero is affirming that death is without feeling, and adds:

"Habes somnum imaginem mortis eamque quotidie induis. Et dubitas, quin sensus in morte nullus sit, quum in ejus simulacro videas esse nullum sensum?" *i.e.*

Thou hast sleep as an image of death and daily dost thou put it on. And dost thou doubt there may be no feeling in death, when thou seest that in its image there is no feeling.

The whole passage comparing Sleep and Death is admirable, and as Shakespeare, according to Woltmann, vol. ii. p. 121, has in one instance at least taken his "*Darstellungen*," *representations* from Holbein's *Images of Death*, ed. 1547, we may without rashness suppose that the letterpress was known to the dramatist as well as the wood-cuts. Thus in *Measure for Measure*, act iii. sc. 1, l. 17-19:

"Thy best of rest is sleep,
And that thou oft provok'st; yet grossly fear'st
Thy death, which is no more."

Or in the *Winter's Tale*, act v. sc. 3, l. 18-20, before Hermione as a statue:

"Prepare
To see the life as lively mock'd, as ever
Still sleep mock'd death."

Or when Macduff raises the alarm, *Macbeth*, act ii. sc. 3, l. 71-73:

"Malcolm! awake!
Shake off this downy sleep, death's counterfeit,
And look on death itself!"

And in that noble soliloquy of *Hamlet*, act iii. sc. 1, l. 60 & 64:

To die, — to sleep, —
No more;
. To die, — to sleep; —



To sleep! perchance to dream;—ay, there's the rub;
 For in that sleep of death what dreams may come,
 When we have shuffled off this mortal coil,
 Must give us pause."

And *De Senectute*, cap. xxii., concerning Old Age, Cicero uses the parallel between death and sleeping; he adopts it from the speech of Cyrus, who, at the point of death, discoursing respecting man's dissolution, declares that every part returns to its elements except the soul: "αὐτὴ δὲ μόνῃ οὔτε παρούσα οὔτε ἀπιούσα ὀράται. Ἐννοήσατε δὲ, ἔφη, ὅτι ἐγγύτερον μὲν τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ θανάτῳ οὐδὲν ἔστιν ὑπνον· ἡ δὲ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ τότε δήπου θειοτάτῃ καταφαίνεται, καὶ τότε τὶ τῶν μελλόντων προορᾷ· τότε γὰρ, ὡς ἔοικε, μάλιστα ἐλευθεροῦται." Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, bk. viii. 7, § 20, 21. *i.e.*

The soul alone, whether present or departing, is not seen. And you have observed that nothing is so near a resemblance to man's death as sleep: and the soul of man then appears most divine, and then foresees something of the future; for then, as is likely, it is especially free.

Page 178. "*Well suits the saying of Cicero: They have lived.*"
 A quotation sought for but not found.

Page 180. "*At the end of so rich a hope, we obtain only a very few apples.*" Almost the same argument is introduced by Cicero in his treatise *De Senectute*, cap. xix., concerning Old Age:

"Et, quasi poma ex arboribus, cruda si sunt, vi avelluntur; si matura et cocta, decidunt: sic vitam adolescentibus vis aufert, senibus maturitas." *i.e.*

And as apples from trees, if they are unripe, are plucked off by force; if mature and ripe they fall; so force takes away life from the young; maturity takes it from the old.

(24) — ALCIDAMAS.

Page 170. "*Alcidamus, an ancient Rhetorician, wrote the praises of Death.*" He was a native of Elaea in Aeolis, in Asia Minor, — a pupil of Gorgias, and resided at Athens between the years B.C. 432 and 411: *Gk. and Rom. Biography*, vol. i. p. 101. He wrote

on the evils of human life, and a *Eulogy on Death*. What remain of his orations were published in the *Oratores Græci* by the Aldi, Venice 1513; but it is from Cicero, *Tuscul. Quæst.*, vol. i. p. 48, that our author has obtained his information :

“Alcidas quidem rhetor antiquus, in primis nobilis, scripsit etiam laudationem mortis, quæ constat ex enumeratione humanorum malorum : cui rationes eæ, quæ exquisitius a philosophis colliguntur, defuerunt ; ubertas orationes non defuit.” *i.e.*

A certain Alcidas, an ancient rhetorician, especially well known, wrote the praise of death, which consists of an enumeration of human evils : to which treatise are wanting those reasons which are the more accurately gathered up by philosophers ; but fulness of speech is not wanting.

The *Evils of Human Life*, and the *Eulogy on Death*, by Alcidas, may indeed have suggested to Shakespeare the argument which he puts into Hamlet's mind, act iii. sc. 1, l. 68 :

“There's the respect

That makes calamity of so long life ;
For who would bear the whips and scorns of time,
The oppressor's wrong, the proud man's contumely,
The pangs of despiz'd love, the law's delay,
The insolence of office, and the spurns
That patient merit of the unworthy takes,
When he himself might his quietus make
With a bare bodkin ?”

(25)—CLEOBOLUS AND BITON.

Page 171. Though the testimony of Cicero is adduced for the beautiful tale respecting Cleobolus and Biton, we will go to the original in the *Clio*, c. 31, of Herodotus, who recites it as part of the conversation between Solon and Croesus. The king demanded of the sage, Whom he judged to be the happiest of all mankind ? The first place was assigned to a poor man of Athens, because he lived to see a strong and healthy family of children grown up around him, and himself died in defence of his country. The second place was given to Cleobis and Biton, who manifested such strong filial love to their mother, the priestess of Juno. And, says the history :

“Before the image she stood and prayed for Cleobis and Biton her children



who greatly honoured the goddesses, that the goddesses would give them what is accounted the best for man. After this very prayer, as they offered sacrifice and were partaking of the festival, the young men, having fallen asleep in the temple, no more awoke, but met with this end. The Argives had images of them made which were set up at Delphos, and they were accounted the best of men."

Page 172. "*The authors of this tale are Hisenarchus . . . , and Cicero.*" Who the former of these authors is I have not ascertained. In the *Tuscul. Quæst.*, vol. i. p. 47, taking, as above, Herodotus for his informant, Cicero thus narrates :

"Primum Argiæ sacerdotis, Cleobis et Biton filii, prædicantur. Nota fabula est : quum enim illam ad solemne et statum sacrificium curru vehi jus esset, satis longe ab oppido ad fanum, morarenturque jumenta ; tunc juvenes ii, quos modo nominavi, veste posita corpora oleo perunxerunt : ad jugum acceperunt. Ita sacerdos advecta in fanum, quum currus esset ductus a filiis, precata a dea dicitur, ut illis præmium daret pro pietate, quod maximum homini dari posset a deo : post epulatos cum matre adolescentes, fomno se dedisse ; mane inventos esse mortuos." *i.e.*

First are publicly proclaimed Cleobis and Biton, sons of the priestess Argia. The tale is known ; for when the law was that at a solemn and appointed sacrifice she should be carried in her chariot, sufficiently far from the town to the temple, and the beasts of burden were delayed, then those youths whom just now I have named, laying aside their vesture, anointed their bodies with oil ; and they set themselves to the yoke. So the priestess was carried to the fane ; and since the chariot had been drawn by her own sons, she prayed, it is said, from the goddesses, that she would bestow upon them as a reward for their filial affection, the greatest which could be given to man from god. After celebrating the festival with their mother, the young men resigned themselves to sleep ; and in the morning they were found dead.

(26) — TROPHONIUS AND AGAMEDES.

Page 172. "*The like tale belongs to Trophonius and Agamedes.*" The myth generally related of them is, that they were the sons of Erginus, king of Orchomenus in Greece, and celebrated for their skill in architecture ; and that on one occasion they dishonestly turned their skill to their own profit by the manner in which they built a treasury for king Hyrieus in Bœotia. Cicero however, in the *Tuscul. Quæst.*, vol. i. § 47, in continuation of his narrative respecting Cleobolus and Biton, says :

"Simili precatione Trophonius et Agamedes ufi dicuntur; qui quum Apollini Delphis templum exedificavissent: venerantes deum, petierunt mercedem non parvum quidem operis et laboris fui, nihil antè, sed quod esset optimum homini. Quibus Apollo se id daturum ostendit post ejus diei diem tertium; qui ut illuxit, mortui sunt reperti. Judicavisse deum dicunt, et eum quidem deum, cui reliqui dii concessissent, ut præter ceteros divinaret." *i.e.*

Trophonius and Agamedes, men say, made use of a like prayer. When at Delphi they had built a temple for Apollo, while worshipping the god, they asked no small reward for their work and labour, nothing less but what might be the best for man. Apollo showed them that he would grant their request the third day after, and when that day shone forth, they were found dead. People say the god judged so, — indeed, that very god to whom the other gods concede that beyond others he can divine.

(27) — P. ÆLIUS HADRIANUS.

Page 172. "*Died a very noble lady, parent of the Emperor.*" If the noble lady was Hadrian's mother, she was the aunt of the emperor Trajan, his predecessor in the empire. Hadrian was born at Rome A.D. 76, became emperor in 117, and died in 138. His *Life* is told by Spartianus, one of the six "*Scriptores Historiæ Augustæ.*" Of these writers three or four editions preceded Holbein's *Images and Aspects of Death*; as that of Milan, folio, 1475; of Venice, 1489; of the Aldi in 1516; and of Florence in 1519. The tale of the emperor and the philosopher however is not narrated by Spartianus, but the emperor's spirit may be judged of from the verses said to be spoken by him at the point of death; see the Paris folio of Spartianus, 1620, p. 12.

"Animula vagula, blandula,	<i>i.e.</i> Wandering little soul, so winning,
Hospes, comesque corporis,	Companion mine and body's guest,
Quæ nunc abibis in loca	In what places wilt thou rest
Pallidula, rigida, nudula,	Pale and stiffening, cold and naked,
Nec ut foles, dabis iocos."	Nor ready for the accustom'd jest.

(28) — PLATO.

Plato the philosopher was born at Athens B.C. 430, and died B.C. 347. Of his fame and of his writings it would be pretentious here to speak; — the reader may refer to any of the numerous biogra-



phies of him which have been written. The *first* edition of his entire Works was printed by the Aldi in Venice in 1513; and then in 1534 an edition, folio, appeared in Holbein's city, Bâle; it was edited by Simon Grynæus, a Greek professor of great erudition, who, like Holbein himself, visited England with letters of commendation from Erasmus to Sir Thomas More and others. The other editor, John Oporinus, also a Greek scholar, was a native of Bâle, born in 1507: at one time he was employed by John Froben, whose epitaph Erasmus wrote; and afterwards he established an extensive printing office, and was praised by Erasmus as "bonus et doctus vir," *a good and learned man*. He too was probably well known to Holbein.

Page 174. "*The divine Plato, being asked by Socrates.*" At the death of Socrates, B.C. 399, Plato was only about 31 years of age, so that the conversation here alluded to, and intimating that he and Socrates were old men together, may be classed among the many fictions which passed current respecting the Great Master and his disciples. Besides Plato does not any where appear as one of the speakers in his dialogues, and the alleged conversation is out of character with his writings.

Sentiments however very similar to those of our text are to be found in Plato's works, and the quotation almost points to a passage in the beginning of the *Republic*, bk. i. See Frankfort edition, folio, 1602, pp. 572 C-573 B. Here Socrates is represented as conversing with Cephalus, who died full of years, B.C. 443. Their subject is (p. 572 D): "ὃ δὲ ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδὲν φασιν εἶναι οἱ ποιήται," *what the poets declare to be the threshold of old age*. The old man avers: "τῷ δὲ μηδὲν ἐαυτῷ ἄδικον ξυνειδῶτι ἡδεῖα ἐλπίς αἰεὶ παρέσσι καὶ ἀγαθὴ γηροτρόφος:"

To him who is conscious to himself of no wrong doing, a sweet hope is ever present, and a good provision for old age.

Again he goes on to say:

"Whoever passes through life justly and holily, a sweet hope in the heart accompanies him, making glad his age."

How

(29) — PLUTARCH.

Plutarch, immortalised by his *Parallel Lives* of forty-six eminent Greeks and Romans, was born at Chaeroneia in Bœotia about A.D. 50. The time of his death is not known, but he was living after Trajan's reign, A.D. 117. Of his works a Latin version was printed at Rome in 1470, — followed by Italian and Spanish versions; and the Greek text itself was first printed at Florence in 1517. Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* were also published at Bâle in folio, in 1533, John Bebelius being the printer, for whom Holbein designed the device, — a Palm-tree, on the branches of which rests a heavy cover, beneath is a man lying on his back, and with hands and feet guarding himself against the burden. See Woltmann's *Holbein*, vol. ii. p. 430, Leipzig, 1868.

Page 174. "*Plutarch in his Apophthegms.*" The *Apophthegmata* were issued at Louvain in 1521, and at Paris in 1530. For the quotation in our text the Paris edition, 2 vols. folio, 1624, has been consulted, but among the *Apophthegmata*, vol. i. pp. 172–236, without success. At pages 198, 199, the sayings of Cato Major are recorded, — but there is nothing like the text, — nor indeed in the *Life of Cato*, vol. ii. pp. 336–56.

(30) — PLINIUS CÆCILIVS SECUNDVS.

This Pliny was the nephew of C. Plinius, the celebrated author of the *Natural History*, and is known chiefly from his *Epistles*. He was born in A.D. 61 or 62; in A.D. 103 he was appointed pro-prætor of the province Pontica in Asia Minor, but of the time of his death nothing has been ascertained. His *Epistles* were first published at Venice in 1471, and again in 1485; and afterwards were frequently repeated, as at Paris in 1515, and by Robert Stephens in 1529.

Page 176. "*Pliny said in one of his Epistles.*" It is doubtful if the exact words of our text are to be found in Pliny. For an illustration of it we may appeal to that fine letter, *Epistles*, bk. iii. 16,



in which he describes the character of Arria, "*quæ marito & solatium & exemplum fuit*," *who was to her husband both a solace and an example*. Her noble self-command on the death of her son, and her heroic refoluteness when her husband Pætus was ordered by the emperor Caligula, A.D. 42, to put an end to his life, must ever excite admiration, if not approval. She took up the dagger to show him how to use it; she pierced her own breast, and held forth the weapon to him, and as Pliny recites the deed, added the word immortal and almost divine, "*Pætus, it does not pain*."

And the supporting faith, what was it? We must read Pliny himself:

"Sed tamen ista facienti dicentique gloria & æternitas ante oculos erant: quo maius est sine præmio æternitatis, sine præmio gloriæ abdere lachrymas, operire luctum, amissoque filio matrem adhuc agere." *i.e.*

Yet to her doing and saying these things glory and eternity were before her eyes; than which it is even greater, without the reward of eternity, without the reward of glory, to hide her tears, to cover over her grief, and yet to do the part of a mother for her lost son.

In this connexion we may also allude to the *Epistle*, bk. vi. 16, to Cornelius Tacitus, in which the terrible eruption of Vesuvius is so graphically described, when Pliny the Naturalist lost his life, and the cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii were overwhelmed. The *Epistle* says, that amid the terrors, "*erant qui metu mortis mortem precarentur*," *there were those who through fear of death prayed for death*.

"Many raised their hands to the gods; more now thought there were no gods, and that upon the world had come the final and eternal night."

Need we a more striking comment on the words, that "the best law given to man is, that nothing in this present world should be eternal"?

(31) — THEODOSIUS.

The emperor Theodosius I. was born in Spain about A.D. 346, and was declared Augustus in A.D. 379;—his death occurred in A.D. 395. The glowing pages of Gibbon contain many notices of this emperor, but a better and more collected account is in the *Gk. and Rom. Biography*, vol. iii. pp. 1062–68.

Theodosius II., son of Arcadius and grandson of the first Theodosius, was born in A.D. 401, and succeeded his father in 408;—his reign continued down to his death A.D. 450,—when the Huns, under Attila, had already invaded and taken possession of large provinces of the empire, and were in the receipt of a yearly tribute.

Page 176. “*Two Philosophers arguing before the Emperor Theodosius.*” The exact authority for this statement has not been ascertained, and consequently we leave it doubtful which of two emperors is intended. In note 32 however an historian is named, but it will be seen that there is still some inaccuracy in the reference.

(32) — PAUL THE DEACON.

Page 177. “*All praised what Theodosius said; as Paul the Deacon recites in his life.*” Paul, deacon it is said of Forijulium in Aquileia, was secretary to Didier the last king of Lombardy, and afterwards in the service of Charlemagne, died A.D. 801. He wrote *Concerning the origin and deeds of the Longobards*, down to the death of Luitprand in 774; and to his work there were additions completing the history to the time of Leo. III. A.D. 806. These histories were printed with Eutropius, at Rome, in 1471, and a French version was issued at Paris, in folio, in 1521. There have been several editions since, one at Bâle in 1569.

The splendid work by Muratori, twenty-five tomes folio, “*Rerum italicarum Scriptores*, Milan 1723–51, contains in vol. i. pp. 405–511, “*Pauli Warnefridi Diaconi Forijulienensis de Gestis Longobardorum.*” This work however does not contain the narrative respecting Theodosius and the Philosophers.

There are also two other authors named Paul the Deacon; see *Glossarium Media et infimæ Latinitatis*, vol. vii. pp. 413–14, 410, Paris 1850,—but neither of them is the author whom the text quotes.

(33) — LACTANTIUS.

Firmianus Lactantius, a very eloquent and Christian writer of the



fourth century, was engaged when advanced in life to be tutor to Crispus, the son of Constantine, A.D. 312-18, and died about A.D. 328. His writings are remarkable for their purity, grace and power. The chief among them are seven books on the *Divine Institutions*, *i.e.* of Christianity. As early as 1465 the works of Lactantius were printed in folio at the monastery of Subiaco on the Anio, in Italy, being the first book with a date printed in that country. Before 1538 there had been ten or twelve editions, of which two were at Bâle in 1521 and 1523, and one issued by the Aldi at Venice in 1535. The treatise of Lactantius, *On the formation of Man*, was edited by Erasmus in 1529 from an ancient manuscript.

A folio edition was printed at Bâle by Henry Peter, his device being a rock. To the Leyden edition, 8vo, 1660, Gallæus added many learned notes.

Page 177. "*Lactantius said, that a man ought to live in such a manner as if he must die in an hour.*" Almost as a converse to the quotation in the text we may adduce the fine sentiment, bk. vi. *De Vero Cultu*, concerning true worship, § 8, p. 569, ed. 1660 :

"Quisquis autem rectum iter vitæ tenere nititur, non terram debet aspicere sed cælum, & (ut apertius loquar) non hominem sequi debet, sed Deum : non his terrestribus simulachris, sed Deo servire cœlesti ; non ad corpus referre omnia, sed ad mentem ; non huic vitæ dare operam, sed æternæ. Itaque si oculos in cælum semper intendas, & solem, quam oritur, observes, eumque habeas vitæ, quasi navigii ducem ; sua sponte in viam pedes dirigentur ; & illud cœlestis lumen, quod sanis mentibus multo clarius sole est ; quam hic, quem carne mortali videmus ; sic gubernabit, ut ad summam sapientiæ, virtutisque portum sine ullo errore perducatur." *i.e.*

But whoever strives to keep the right road of life ought not to regard earth but heaven, and (that I may speak more openly) ought not to follow man but God ; not to serve these earthly images, but the heavenly God ; not to labour for this life, but for eternity. Therefore if you always fix the eyes on heaven, and observe the sun where he rises, and have him leader of life, as of a voyage ; then of their own will thy feet will be directed into the way ; and that heavenly light, which to sound minds is far brighter than the sun, — than this which we see in mortal flesh, — will so govern, that without any mistake it may guide to the height of wisdom, and to the port of virtue.

(34) — APULEIUS.

Page 177. "*In the opinion of Apuleius.*" Apuleius was a native of Madura in Africa, and flourished in the early part of the second century. The most celebrated of his works is named, *Of the Metamorphoses of the Golden Ass*, in eleven books. It is highly allegorical, and has some great defects; yet it contains many excellent moral reflections, and may be regarded as having for its object to trace, according to Plato's philosophy, the progress of the soul to a higher state. Various editions appeared before 1500. It was translated into German as early as 1480; into Spanish in 1513; and into Italian and French in 1518. The German version of 1538, printed at Augsburg, in folio, contains seventy-nine wood engravings by Hans Schäufflein, a scholar and imitator of Albert Durer. Kugler, vol. ii. p. 240, speaks of "an excellent rich composition," by Schäufflein, "*der Anbetung des Lammes*," of the *Adoration of the Lamb*, of the year 1538.

For reference or search the Delphin edition, 4to, Paris 1688, excels others, having an index of 252 pages. The edition of 1650, "*L. Apulei Metamorphoseos, Libri xi., cum annotationibus Uterioribus Ioannes Pricæi*," is valuable for its notes.



APPENDIX.



FROM the Epistle Dedicatory to the French edition of *The Images of Death*,* Lyons 1538, it is evident that there was at that time one design at least, the Wagoner, already drawn and nearly engraved, but which the death of the wood-engraver prevented being then finished. And from the Proofs, in the Print-room of the British Museum, of Holbein's celebrated designs, including drawings of Boys, to which a date as early as 1530 may very reasonably be ascribed, it is also evident that this class of subjects possessed an established authority for being included in the series. Douce indeed has left the Boys out, but admits *eight* additional woodcuts which he found in the *Imagines Mortis*, Lyons 1547; and of which *one*, "extremely fine, particularly the beggar's head," says Douce, occurs in the edition of 1545 by George Æmylius, and which is inserted in our Appendix 1°. Of additional wood-cuts *twelve* were first given in the Lyons edition 1547, — and the same twelve, though by a different engraver, appear in the Cologne edition of 1566, and are included in our Appendix 2°. They are presented with the view of adding to the fulness, if not to the completeness, of our work, and of furnishing the means within the same volume of contrasting the later series of wood-cuts with the earlier.

How many of these *twelve* subjects additional to the *forty-one* of the year 1538 are to be attributed to Holbein's pencil cannot now be determined. Of so fecund an artist there would be, in his own day, many sketches that passed from hand to hand or were treasured by friends and admirers, but which the tooth of time has now

* The English is printed at p. 110 of this edition, 1869, with a note at p. 195.



utterly corroded, and they have perished ; yet the internal evidence of similitude of design and of treatment of subject pleads for those *twelve*, and for some others not here included, the distinction of being assigned to the same skill that drew the *forty-one*, though not to the same hands that give them fixure upon the wood. There was one designing mind, — there have been two or more workmen to engrave the thoughts.

The thoughts indeed have fructified in various ways, — whether in the indifferently executed plates of *Emblems of Mortality*, edited by J. Sidney Hawkins, in 1789, or in the brilliant and elaborate engravings by Rentz, at Augsburg, in 1750. There is no necessity to follow out all the ramifications of the original designs, and we are persuaded the chief among them are sufficient for our object.

IMAGINES MORTIS

HIS ACCESSERVNT,
EPIGRAMMATA, *è Gallico idiomate à GEOR-
GIO AEMYLIO in Latinum translata.*

AD HÆC.

MEDICINA ANIMAE, *tam ijs qui firma, quàm
qui aduersa corporis ualitudine præditi sunt, ma-
ximè necessaria.*

RATIO consolandi ob morbi grauitatem pericu-
losè decumbentes.

QVÆ his addita sunt, sequens pagina
commonstrabit.



LVGDVNI, SVB SCVTO
COLONIENSI. 1545

R

INDEX eorum *que his* MORTIS Imagi-
nibus accesserunt.

D. CAECILII CYPRIANI *episcopi Cartha-*
ginensis, Sermo de MORTALITATE.

ORATIO ad DEVM, *apud egrotum dum inui-*
situr dicenda.

ORATIO ad CHRISTVM *in graui morbo di-*
cenda.

D. CHRYSOSTOMI *Patriarchæ Constantino-*
politani, de Patientia, & Consummatione huius
seculi, de secundo Aduentu Domini, deq; æternis
Iustorum gaudijs, & Malorum pœnis, de Silen-
tio, & alijs homini Christiano ualide necessarijs,
Sermo.

Et requies æterna,

Melior est mors, quàm uita amara:



quàm languor periculis.

ECCLESIAST. XXX.

IMAGINES MORTIS.

HIS ACCESSERVNT
EPIGRAMMATA, è Gallico idiomate à
Georgio Aemylio in Latinum translata.

AD HAEC,
MEDICINA ANIMAE, tam ijs, qui firma,
quàm qui aduersa corporis valetudine
præditi sunt, maximè necessaria.

*QVAE his addita sunt, sequens pagina
demonstrabit.*



COLONIAE
apud heredes Arnoldi Birckmanni.
ANNO 1566.

CREATIO MVNDI.

*Formavit Dominus. DEVS hominem de li-
mo terra, ad imaginem suam creavit illum,
masculum & feminam creavit eos.*

GEN. I. & II.



*Principio Caelum, Terram, Pontumq, sonantem
Ex nihilo fecit voce potente Deus.
Inde levi terra divinae mentis imago
Gignitur, humanum Femina Virq, genus.*

*De lectulo, super quem ascendisti, non descen-
des, sed morte morieris.*

IIII. REG. I.



*Quem premis, ô virgo, iuuenili corpore lectum,
Non hinc dura tibi surgere fata dabunt.
Nam prius exanimē te mors violenta domabit,
Pallidag, in tumultum corpora falce trahet.*

*Omnes stabimus ante tribunal. Ro. XIII.
Vigilate & orate, quia nescitis qua hora ventu-
rus sit Dominus. MAT. XXIII.*



*Quilibet ut possit rationem reddere, cuncti
Iudicis aeterni stabimus ante thronum,
Propterea toto vigilemus pectore, ne cum
Venerit, irato iudicet me Deus.
Et quia nemo tenet veniri iudicis horam,
Esse decet vigiles in statione pios.*

Memorare nouissima & in eternum non peccabis.

ECCLE. VII.



*Si cupis immunem vitijs traducere vitam,
Ista sit ante oculos semper imago tuos.
Nam te ventura crebrò de Morte monebit
Quam repetens omni tempore cautus eris.
Da precor ut verò te pectore Christe colamus!
Omnibus ad cælum sic patefiet iter.*

**SIMOLACHRI,
HISTORIE, E FL-
GVRE DE LA
MORTE.**

La medicina de L'anima.

Il modo, e la via di consolar g^{li} infermi.

Vn sermone di San Cipriano, de la mortalità.

Due orationi, l'vna à Dio, e l'altra à CHRISTO.

**Vn sermone di S. Giouan chrisostomo, che ci essor-
ta à pazienza.**

**Aiuntoui di nuouo molte figure
mai piu stampate.**



**IN LYONE APPRESSO
GIOVAN FRELLONE,
M. D. XLIX.**



Dispone domui tuæ, morieris enim
tu, & non viues.

ESAIAE XXXVIII.

Ibi morieris, & ibi erit currus gloriæ tuæ.

ESAIAE XXII.



Prouedi à fatti tuoi, che morir dei:
E non ti creder di restar più in vita:
Anchor tu, come gli altri, mortal sei,
E la tua gloria teco fia smarrita.



**Quis est homo, qui viuet, & non videbit
mortem, eruetque animam suam de ma-
nu inferi?**

PSAL. LXXXVIII.



**Chi serà mai così gagliardo, è forte,
Che'n questo mōdo sempre viuer possa:
E le man fuggir tanto de là morte,
Ch'a'l fin non caggia ne la scura fossa.**

Cùm fortis armatus custodit atriũ suũ, &c.
 Si autem fortior eo superueniens vice-
 rit eum, vniuersa eius arma aufert, in
 quibus confidebat.

LVC XI.



Mentre ha vita, e vigor, armato, e forte
 Il buon soldato, il luogo suo difende,
 Soprauenendo poi l'amara morte,
 Li toglie l'arme, e lo rapisce, & prende.

**Quid prodest homini, si vniversum Mun-
dum lucretur, animæ autem suæ detri-
mentum patiatur?**

MATT. XVI.



**Che giona al' huom, che tutto'l mondo ac-
quisti,
Se l'alma sua poi ne riceue danno?
Onde ne i luoghi tenebrofi, & tristi
Pianga dannata à sempiterno affanno.**

Ne inebriemini vino , in quo est luxuria.

E P H E S. V.



**Fuggi l'ebrietà, da cui prociede
Lussuria, ond' à mal far t'auazzi, & vfi,
Che morte contra te, mouendo 'l piede
Non ti troui nel fin con gli occhi chiusi.**



**Quasi agnus lasciuiens, & ignorans, nescit
quodd ad vincula stultus trahatur.**

PROVERB. VII



**Viuesi lieto il pazzo, & ignorante,
Et mentre sta del suo gioir sicuro
Come semplice agnel, la morte auante
Lo conduce al suo varco acerbo, & duro.**

Domine , vim patior.

ISAIAE XXXVIII.



Surge 'l ladron di mezza notte, e inuola
La sostanza che'l pouero nutrisce,
Quel piange, & ecco morte ch' alla gola
De'l ladro auolgevn laccio, & qui finisce.

**Cæcus cæcum ducit : & ambo in foueam
cadunt.**

M A T T H. X V.



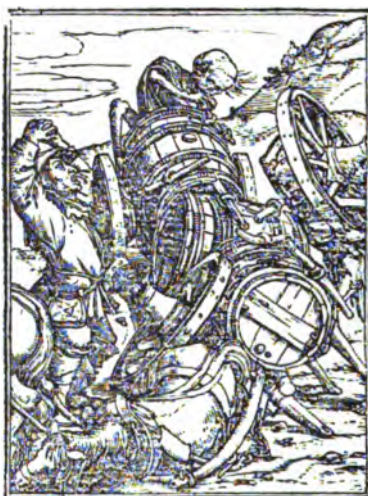
**Il cieco guida'l cieco, onde egualmente
Caggiono insieme entro vna fossa oscura,
Così chi viuer pensa lungamente,
Morte incauto il conduce in sepoltura.**

T



Corruit in curru suo.

I. CHRON. XXII.



Sopra d'un carro, per fuggir la morte,
Corre l'auriga, ella con fretta mossa
Tanto lo segue, che per fatal sorte
Si rompe 'l carro, e di lui frange l'ossa.

Miser ego homo! Quis me liberabit
de corpore mortis huius?

ROM. VII.



Chi viuer brama in cielo, eterna vita,
Brama vscir di qua giù, ne morte teme.
Trammi della pregion poco gradita,
Grida 'l p ouero, mentre in Christo hà
speme.

Confodietur iaculis.

EXODI IX.



Il semplice fanciul contra la morte
Ardito, in mano ha la saetta, e'l scudo,
Ella di lui via piu possente, & forte
Traffige con suoi strali il corpo ignudo.



Pueri in ligno corruerunt.

T H R E N. V.



**Per disio di giocar semplicemente
Caualcano vna canna arditi & presti
I fanciulli, ma caggion prestamente,
Lasciando i corpi esangui, atri, & funesti.**

Quorum deus venter est.

PHILIP. III.



**A guisa di fanciul senza pensiero
Viue colui, che alle lasciuie è intento,
Ma quel, sì como peso assai leggiero
Morte ne toglie, quando è piu contento.**

Fortium diuidet spolia.

ISAIAE LIII.



D' hauer le piu honorate, altere, e degne
 Anime sciolie dalle membra morte,
 Hora diuide l'acquistate insegne
 D'ogn' huomo, al fin la ventictrice forte.



Rom.5.

Come per vn huomo il Peccato entrò nel Mondo , e per il Peccato la Morte: e così la Morte è pari mēte peruenuta sopra tutti gli huomini, inquanto che tutti han peccato.

3°— EPIGRAMMATA LIII.
BY GEORGE ÆMYLIUS.

I. THE CREATION. *Die Erschaffung.*

Principio Cælum, Terram, Pontumq; sonantem
Ex nihilo fecit uoce potente DEVS.
Inde leui terra diuinæ mentis imago
Gignitur, humanum Fœmina Virq; genus.

II. THE TEMPTATION. *Der Sündenfall.*

Fallitur infelix à stulta coniuge coniunx,
Inuito comedens tristia poma DEO.
Commeruere grauem scelerato crimine Mortem,
Legibus hinc fati subdita turba sumus.

III. THE DRIVING FORTH FROM EDEN. *Die Verstoßung.*

Expulit Omnipotens hominem de sede beata,
Nutriat ut proprio membra labore, DEVS.
Pallida tunc primū uacuum MORS uenit in orbem :
Humanum rapiunt hinc mala fata genus.

IV. THE CURSE UPON EARTH AND ON MAN. *Die Verfluchung.*

Sit maledicta tuo sterilis pro crimine Tellus.
Vita tibi multi plena laboris erit :
Donec in exigua te MORS tellure reponet,
Quod fueras primum, tum quoq; puluis eris.



V. THE CHARNEL HOUSE. *Gebeine aller Menschen.*

*Væ nimium uobis misero qui uiuitis orbe,
Tempora uos multo plena dolore manent.
Quantumcunq; boni uobis fortuna ministret,
Pallida MORS ueniens omnibus hospes erit.*

VI. THE POPE. *Der Pabst.*

*Qui non mortalis uitæ tibi munera fingis
Rebus ab humanis eripiere breui.
Maximus es quanuis Romana in sede Sacerdos,
Quod geris officium qui gerat alter erit.*

VII. THE EMPEROR. *Der Kaijser.*

*Sic tibi disponas commissi munera regni,
Vt transire alio posse repente putes.
Cur ? quia cum uitam fuscepta morte repones,
Tunc tua diuulsus gloria currus erit.*

VIII. THE KING. *Der König.*

*Splendida fert hodie regni qui sceptræ superbus,
Crastina lux illi tristia fata feret.
Quisquis enim regni summas moderatur habenas
Munera discedens non meliora feret.*

IX. THE CARDINAL. *Der Cardinal.*

*Væ nimium uobis qui iustificatis iniquum,
Erigitisq; malos, deprimitisq; bonos.
Donaq; sectantes fallacis inania mundi,
Iustitiæ uerum tollere uultis iter.*

X. THE EMPRESS. *Die Kaijserin.*

*Vos quoq; quos uitæ delectat pompa superbæ,
Implicitas fatis auferet una dies.
Herba uirens pedibus ceu conculcatur euntis,
Ultima sic tristi uos pede fata terent.*

XI. THE QUEEN. Die Königin.

*Huc etiam dominæ, matronaq; dives adeste,
Sic etenim uobis mortua turba refert.
Post hilares annos, & inanis gaudia mundi
Turbabit MORTIS corpora uestra dolor.*

XII. THE BISHOP. Der Bischoff.

*MORS ego percutiam pastorem, dicit, inermem,
Illius in terram mitra pedumq; cadent.
Tum pastore suo per uulnera MORTIS adempto,
Incustodiæ disjicientur oues.*

XIII. THE PRINCE-ELECTOR. Der Fürst.

*Princeps magne ueni, perituraq; gaudia linguas.
Quicquid & incerti mundus honoris habet.
Sola queo Regum sublimes uincere fastus,
Imperio cedit splendida pompa meo.*

XIV. THE LORD ABBOT. Der Abbt.

*Iam moriere miser, quia disciplina piorum
Nunquam uera tibi, sed simulata fuit.
Stultitiæq; tuæ magno deceptus aceruo
Es stolidus falsum mente secutus iter.*

XV. THE LADY ABBESS. Die Abbtiffin.

*Plus ego laudaui MORTEM, quàm uiuere, semper
Vita quod hæc uarijs est onerata malis.
Nunc ingrata tamen me MORS detrusit ad illos
Fatorum rigida qui cecidere manu.*

XVI. THE NOBLE KNIGHT. Der Edelman.

*Quis tam grandis homo, tam forti pectore uiuit
Cui maneat semper nescia uita necis?
Quis uitare potest, quod deijcit omnia, lethum?
Eripiens animam MORTIS ab ense suam.*



XVII. THE CANON. *Der Dom-Herr.*

*Tu petis ecce chorum pompa comitante frequenti,
Mox age dic horas uoce precante tuas.
Nam te fata uocant, illa morieris in hora
Quæ tibi fert tristem non reuocanda diem.*

XVIII. THE CORRUPT JUDGE. *Der Richter.*

*Vos ego qui donis corrupti falsa probatis
E medio populi iudicioq; traham.
Non eritis iusta factorum lege soluti
Quam modo qui uiuit nemo cauere potest.*

XIX. THE ADVOCATE. *Der Advocat.*

*Vidit homo cautus delicta, malumq; probauit :
Pauperis & iusti causa repulsa fuit.
Iustitiæ titulo uexatur egenus & insons,
Legibus & maius munera pondus habent.*

XX. THE SENATOR, OR MAGISTRATE. *Der Rathsh-Herr.*

*Consultitis diles omni locupletibus hora,
Pauperis & clausa spernitis aure preces.
Sed uos extrema quando clamabitis hora,
Sic etiam clausa negliget aure DEVS.*

XXI. THE PREACHER. *Der Pfarrherr.*

*Væ qui taxatis pro falso crimine rectum,
Quodq; malum uere est, dicitis esse bonum.
Ex tenebris lucem facitis, de luce tenebras,
Mellag; cum tristi dulcia felle datis.*

XXII. THE PRIEST. *Der Caplan.*

*Ecce Sacramentum cœlestia munera porto
Vnde ferat certam iam moriturus opem.
Sum quoq; mortalis, simili quia forte creatus,
Tempora cum uenient cogar ut ille mori.*

XXIII. THE MENDICANT FRIAR, OR MONK. *Der Mönch.*

*Hæc uia fallendi mortales pulchra uidetur
 Qua tegitur ficta religione malum.
 Nanq; foris simulant magnum pietatis amorem,
 Omne uoluptatum sed genus intus habent.
 At cum finis adeſt, ueniunt triſtiſſima dona :
 Accumulat cunſtos MORS inimica malos.*

XXIV. THE CANONESS, OR NUN. *Die Nonne.*

*Apoſtrophe ad MORTEM.
 Quid ſacram terres MORS inuidioſa puellam ?
 Gloria de uicta uirgine parua uenit.
 I procul, & ſenio conſectis retia ponas :
 Hanc ſine delicijs incubuiſſe fuiſ.
 Conueniunt hilari luſuſq; iociq; iuuentæ,
 Sumptaq; furtiuo gaudia leta thoro.*

XXV. THE AGED WOMAN. *Daß alte Weib.*

*Vita diu mihi pœna fuit, me nulla uoluntas
 Incitat, ut cupiam longius eſſe ſuper.
 MORS melior uita, certa mihi mente uidetur,
 Quæ redimit cunſtis peſtora ſeſſa malis.*

XXVI. THE PHYSICIAN. *Der Medicuſ or Artz.*

*Tu bene cognofcis morbos, artemq; medendi
 Qua ſimul ægrotis ſubueniatur, habes.
 Sed caput ô ſtupidum, cùm fata aliena retardes
 Ignoras morbi quo moriere genus.*

XXVII. THE ASTROLOGER. *Der Sternſeher.*

*Aſpiciens curuum ficta ſub imagine cælum
 Euentura alijs dicere fata ſoles.
 Dic mihi, ſi bonus es uenturæ fortis aruſpex,
 Ad me quando tibi fata uenire dabunt ?
 Inſpice præſentem quam fert mea dextera ſphæram,
 Te melius fati præmonet illa tui.*



XXVIII. THE MISER. *Der Reiche.*

*Hac te nocte manu rapiet MORS tristis, auare,
Inq; breui tumba cras tumulatus eris.
Ergo cùm procul hinc uita priuatus abibis
Quò bona peruenient accumulata tibi ?*

XXIX. THE MERCHANT. *Der Kauffmann.*

*Thesauros cumulat qui per mendacia magnos,
Et bona corradit plurima, stulta facit.
MORS etenim quando trahet in sua retia captum,
Hunc faciet facti pœnituisse sui.*

XXX. THE SEAMEN IN A STORM. *Die Schiffenden.*

*Vt bona mortales uobis mundana paretis,
Obijcitis uarijs pœlora uestra malis.
Sic fortuna potens in multa pericula lapsos
Ad fumum ducit perditionis iter.*

XXXI. THE ARMED KNIGHT. *Der Ritter.*

*Insurgent populi contra fera bella gerentem
Qui nihil humanæ commoda pacis amat.
Magnanimo freti uiolentum robore tollent,
Ipse cadet nulla percutiente manu.
Nam genus humanum ualidis qui læserit armis,
Auferet hunc fato MORS uiolenta graui.*

XXXII. THE COUNT. *Der Graff.*

*Nobilis haud ullos secum portabit honores
Deijciet summo MORS ubi dura loco.
Non celebres titulos, claræq; insignia gentis
Auferet, in tumba nil nisi puluis erit.*

XXXIII. THE OLD MAN. *Der alte-Mann.*

*Attenuata meis fugerunt robora membris,
Vitaq; currentis fluminis instar abit.*

*Quàm cito præterijt nunquam reuocabile tempus,
Et reliquum tumbam nil mihi præter erit.
Tristitia iam longæ pertæsus munera uitæ
Me precor ut iubeant numina summa mori.*

XXXIV. THE COUNTESS, OR BRIDE. Die Gräfin.

*Consumunt uitam per gaudia multa puellæ,
Omne uoluptatum percipiuntq; genus.
Tristitia curisq; uacant, animoq; soluto
Otia delicijs condita semper amant.
Sed misera tandem fato mittuntur ad Orcum,
Vertit ubi summus gaudia tanta dolor.*

XXXV. THE BRIDE AND BRIDEGROOM. Die Verliebten.

*Hic est uerus amor qui nos coniungit in unum,
Et ligat æterna mutua corda fide.
Sed nimis heu paruo durabit tempore, nanque
MORS citò coniunctos diuidet una duos.*

XXXVI. THE PRINCESS, OR DUCHESS. Die Fürstin, or Herzogin.

*Quem premis, ô uirgo, iuuenili corpore lectum,
Non hinc dura tibi surgere fata dabunt.
Nam prius exanimem te MORS uiolenta domabit,
Pallidæq; in tumultum corpora falce trahet.*

XXXVII. THE PEDLAR. Der Krämer.

*Huc ades, & promptus uestigia nostra sequaris
Pondera qui fesso tergo tanta geris.
Iam satis est nummos pro merce forumq; secutus.
Omnibus his curis exoneratus eris.*

XXXVIII. THE PLOUGHMAN, OR FARMER. Der Ackerfmann.

*Ipse tibi multo panem sudore parabis,
Præbebit uictum nec nisi cultus ager.
Post uarios usus rerum uitæq; labores
Finiet ærumnas MORS uiolenta tuas.*



XXXIX. THE MOTHER AND YOUNG CHILD. *Das Kind.*

*Omnis homo ueniens grauida mulieris ab aluo,
Nascitur ad uarijs tempora plena malis.
Flos citò marcescens ueluti decedit, & ille
Sic perit, & tanquam corporis umbra fugit.*

XL. THE SOLDIER. *Der Kriegsmann.*

*Fortis & armatus, dum vis, & vita superfit,
Tuta sui feruant atria præsidij:
Ecce superuenit iunctis Mors fortior armis,
Hunc; malè tuta de statione rapit.*

XLI. THE GAMESTER. *Der Spieler.*

*Quid prodest homini totum si fortibus orbem,
Aculeæ innumeras arte lucretur opes:
Detrimentum animæ fato patiatur acerbo,
Nulla quod ars, fraus, fors, pòst reparare queat.*

XLII. THE DRUNKARD. *Der Säufer.*

*Parcite mortales nimio vos mergere Baccho,
Cui Venus expumans, luxus & omnis inest:
Ne veniens cogat somno, vinoq; sepultos,
Mors animam vomitu reddere purpureã.*

XLIII. THE IDIOT FOOL. *Der Narr.*

*Insanire, & scire nihil, fuauissima vita est:
Optima non ilidem. Quid furiosus agit?
Securus fati, simplex lasciuit ut agnus,
Nescius ad mortis vincula quod trahitur.*

XLIV. THE ROBBER. *Der Räuber.*

*Vt uigilent homines furgunt de nocte latrones:
Tollunt quæ plenis fert anus in calathis.
Vim patior, clamat, mortem mittit Deus ultor,
Quæ per carnificem strangulat hos laqueo.*

XLV. THE BLIND MAN. *Der Blinde.*

*Pro duce cæcus habet cæcum. Dum incertus uterque
Ambulat: in foueam lapsus uterque ruit:
Vtlierius nam sperat homo dum pergere, tumbæ
In tenebras illum Mors mala præcipitat.*

XLVI. THE WAGONER. *Der Kärner.*

*Fertur equis auriga, nec audit currus habenas,
Dum Mortis pugnat cum ratione timor.
Corporis exiliente rota, deuoluitur axis:
Vina fluunt ruptis sanguinolenta cadis.*

XLVII. THE BEGGAR. *Der Stiche.*

*Qui cupit exolui, & cum Christo viuere, mortē
Non metuit. Tali voce sed astra ferit,
Infelix ego homo. Quis ab huius corpore mortis
Liberet (heu) miserum? me miserum eripiat.*

XLVIII. THE BOY WITH SHIELD AND DART. *Der Knabe.*

*Hic puer ætate imprudens, est sanguine feruens,
Cum parma iaculum (cætera nudus) habet.
Infelix puer, atque impar congressus atroci
Morti, quæ iaculis confodit hunc proprijs.*

XLIX. BOYS RIDING ON SPEAR AND BOW. *Kinder-gruppen.*

*Ludere par impar, equitare in arundine longa,
Socratico & pueros currere more iuuat.
Ecce repenti ruunt equites in caudice ligni,
Ligneus ut Troia Pergama vertit equus.*

L. THE BOY-BACCHANALS. *Kinder-gruppen.*

*Non secus ac pueri sine solitudine viuunt,
Quorum maximus, est venter & esca, Deus.
Quem pinguem & nitidum, bene curata cute tollunt,
Fronde coronatum, Mors leue tollet onus.*

LI. THE BOY-TRIUMPH. *Kinderguppen.*

*Clara triumphatis hominum uictoria fummis,
Vt fummos doceat quosque dedisse manus;
Diuidit erectis spolia exarmata trophæis
Victrix victorum Mors violenta virum.*

LII. (40). THE LAST JUDGMENT. *Jüngstes Gericht.*

*Quilibet ut possit, rationem reddere, cuncti
Iudicis æterni stabimus ante thronum.
Propterea toto uigilemus pectore, ne cum
Venerit, irato iudicet ore DEVS.
Et quia nemo tenet uenturi iudicis horam,
Esse decet uigiles in statione pios.*

LIII. (41). THE ESCUTCHEON OF DEATH. *Wappen des Todes.*

*Si cupis immunem uitæ traducere uitam,
Ista sit ante oculos semper imago tuos.
Nam te uentura crebro de MORTE monebit,
Quam repetens omni tempore cautus eris.
Da precor ut uero te pectore CHRISTE colamus:
Omnibus ad cælum sic patefiet iter.*

4°—QUOTATIONS FOR THE TWELVE ADDITIONAL PLATES.

- XL. THE SOLDIER. *Luke xi. 21, 22* : When a strong man armed keepeth his palace, his goods are in peace : But when a stronger than he shall come upon him, and overcome him, he taketh from him all his armour in which he trusted.
- XLI. THE GAMESTERS. *Matt. xvi. 26* : For what is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?
- XLII. THE DRUNKARDS. *Eph. v. 18* : And be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess.
- XLIII. THE IDIOT-FOOL. *Prov. vii. 22* : As an ox goeth to the slaughter, or as a fool to the correction of the stocks.
- XLIV. THE ROBBER. *Isaiah xxxviii. 14* : O LORD, I am oppressed.
- XLV. THE BLIND MAN. *Matt. xv. 14* : And if the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch.
- XLVI. THE WAGONER. *2 Kings ix. 24* : And he sunk down in his chariot.
- XLVII. THE BEGGAR. *Rom. vii. 24* : O wretched man that I am ! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?
- XLVIII. THE BOY WITH SHIELD AND DART. *Exod. xix. 13* : He shall surely be stoned or shot through. *Heb. xii. 20* : It shall be stoned or thrust through with a dart.
- XLIX. BOYS RIDING ON SPEAR AND BOW. *Lam. v. 13* : And the children fell under the wood.
- L. THE BOY-BACCHANALS. *Phil. iii. 19* : Whose God is bodily appetite.
- LI. THE BOY-TRIUMPH. *Isaiah liii. 12* : And he shall divide the spoil with the strong.



5°—VARIOUS EDITIONS OF HOLBEIN'S IMAGES AND ASPECTS OF DEATH.



WHEN Holbein's Devices, representing a dramatic series of Figures of Death and his Victims, were first designed and drawn by the great artist, and then engraved on wood and published, is not exactly determined. Neither is it known with certainty, whether as portions of them were executed, the artist's proofs of them may not have been collected and given to his friends, and exist to this day in national museums, as fragmentary editions.

As in the later issues after 1538, new subjects were inserted, on the woodcuts of them being completed,—so in the earlier, preceding the year 1530, there may have been sent forth, *first*, a set of those devices that had first been engraved, and *then* other sets, with the addition of new plates in the order of their workmanship.

We know that a process of this kind was adopted by Andrew Alciat, a writer of emblems, contemporary with Holbein. Whatever the number of emblems in the very first traditional edition, that of Milan 1522, it is certain that his Augsburg edition of 1531 had 104 emblems and 98 devices; that of Paris in 1534 gave 113 emblems with as many devices; the Venice edition of 1546 confined itself to 86 emblems and 84 devices entirely new; and the Lyons edition of 1551 collected and raised the total number of emblems to 213,—a number to which more than 120 editions afterwards pretty closely adhered.

Of Holbein's *Figures of Death*, Woltmann, vol. ii. pp. 109 and 408, intimates that the early series of 40 or 41 plates had been

printed at Bâle before A.D. 1527,* about the time, according to Wornum, p. 192, when Holbein took up his residence in England. But previous to this early series, may it not have been the fact that the "*Unvollständige Exemplare*" *imperfect copies*, or fragmentary sets of Holbein's *Figures of Death*, which exist in Vienna, Dresden, Berlin and Oxford, owe their origin to successive "*Aufgaben*" *outgivings* or issues of the original plates as they were made up into sets? The fragmentary copy in Berlin numbers only 28 plates; that of Dresden 30; the Bodleian copy reaches to 33; and the Vienna copy to 39. May not this order in amount represent the order of time in which, from the first issue of the plates, until the number 40 or 41 was complete, the sets had been collected and printed, if not published? This supposition obtains support from the remark of Brunet, vol. iii. col. 255: "Avant que les 41 planches des Simulachres passent ainsi réunies en corps d'ouvrage, il en avait été tiré des épreuves séparées, qui n'ont d'autre texte que le nom du sujet exprimé en allemand au haut de chaque planche: telles sont les deux suites de grande beauté, existant au cabinet des estampes de la Bibliothèque impériale."

Assuming A.D. 1527 as the date at which the series of 40 or 41 plates from Holbein's *Figures of Death* had been completed, we may note, according to Woltmann, vol. ii. pp. 407-10, that the editions from those original wood-blocks fall under *two* principal divisions; the *one* having under it 2, and the *other* 3 classes.†

* Wornum, p. 182, under the year 1526, speaking of Holbein's claim to be regarded as the inventor of the *Figures of Death*, says: "There may be added the significant fact that two copies of this 'Dance of Death' were preserved in the Amerbach cabinet at Basel, among the works after Holbein; and one of them may possibly have been placed there even by Holbein himself, a gift to his intimate friend Boniface Amerbach."

† The authorities, chiefly used in preparing the list of editions, have been Douce's *Holbein's Dance of Death*, 1833 and 1858; Brunet's *Manuel du Libraire*, 1860-1865; Wornum's *Holbein's Life and Works*, 1868; Woltmann's *Holbein und seine Zeit*, 1866, 1868; and Langlois' *Essai sur les Danses des Morts*, Rouen, 2 vols. 8vo, 1851. In several instances I have examined and collated copies of the editions.



I. — Containing the ORIGINAL SERIES, imprinted at Bâle, *on one side only of the paper*, with German titles, *and without date*.

Measurement of the plates: height, about 6.5 centimetres, or 2.559 inches : width, about 4.5 c., or 1.77 in.

CLASS I. According to Woltmann, vol. ii. p. 407 ;* 40 *Plates*.

1. Die schöpfung aller ding,	The creation of all things.
2. Adam Eua im Paradiß,	Adam and Eve in Paradise.
3. Vſtribung Ade Eve,	Expulſion of Adam and Eve.
4. Adam bawgt die Erden,	Adam tills the Earth.
5. Der Bapſt, The Pope.	21. Der Edelman, The Nobleman.
6. Der Cardinal, The Cardinal.	22. Der Ratſſherr, The Councillor.
7. Der Biſchoff, The Biſhop.	23. Der Rychman, The Richman.
8. Der Thumherr, The Canon.	24. Der Kauffman, The Merchant.
9. Der Apt, The Abbot.	25. Der Krämer, The Pedlar.
10. Der Pfarrherr, The Parſon.	26. Der Schiffman, The Shipman.
11. Der Predicant, The Preacher.	27. Der Ackerman, The Ploughman.
12. Der Münch, The Monk.	28. Der Altman, The Old Man.
13. Der Artzet, The Phyſician.	29. Die Keyferinn, The Empreſs.
14. Der Keyſer, The Emperor.	30. Die Königin, The Queen.
15. Der König, The King.	31. Die Hertzoginn,† The Duchefs.
16. Der Hertzog, The Duke.	32. Die Greffinn, The Countefs.
17. Der Richter, The Judge.	33. Die Edelſraw, The Lady.
18. Der Fürſpräch, The Advocate.	34. Die Aptiffinn, The Abbefs.
19. Der Groff, The Count.	35. Die Nunne, The Nun.
20. Der Ritter, The Knight.	36. Dafs Altweyb, The Old wife.
37. Dafs jung kint,	The young child.
38. Gebeyn aller Menſchen,	Bones of all Men.
39. Dafs Jüngſt Gericht,	The Laſt Judgment.
40. Die Wapen defs Thotfs.	The Arms of Death.

CLASS 2 is the ſame with Claſs I, *except* that No. 23 is *Der Sternengeher*, the Aſtronomer ; and by this inſertion, all the reſt remaining in the ſame order, the number is raiſed to 41 *Figures*.

II. — Alſo containing the ORIGINAL SERIES, printed at Lyons, *on both ſides of the paper*, with Diſſertations, texts of Scripture, and verſes of rhymes.

Measurement of the plates, the ſame as in Diviſion I.

* Wornum, p. 182, gives a very different order.

† This plate of the Duchefs bears the monogram *HL* for Hans Lützelburger, who is generally ſuppoſed to have been the engraver of the woodcuts for the *Figures of Death*.

CLASS 3. *The Editions issued, 1538-1545, containing 41 Plates.*

1. Erschaffung Evas,	Creation of Eve.
2. Sündenfall,	The Fall, or Temptation.
3. Vertreibung aus dem Paradiese,	Expulsion from Paradise.
4. Adam baut die Erde,	Adam tills the earth.
5. Gebein aller Menschen,	Bones of all Men.
6. Papst,	Pope.
7. Kaiser,	Emperor.
8. König,	King.
9. Cardinal,	Cardinal.
10. Kaiserin,	Empress.
11. Königin,	Queen.
12. Bischof,	Bishop.
13. Herzog,	Duke.
14. Apt,	Abbot.
15. Aeptiffin,	Abbeys.
16. Edelmann,	Nobleman.
17. Domherr,	Canon.
18. Richter,	Judge.
19. Fürsprech,	Advocate.
20. Rathherr,	Senator.
21. Prädicant,	Preacher.
22. Pfarrer,	Priest.
23. Mönch,	Monk.
24. Nonne,	Nun.
25. Alt Weib,	Old woman.
26. Arzt,	Physician.
27. Sternenseher,	Astrologer.
28. Reicher,	Richman.
29. Kaufmann,	Merchant.
30. Schiffer,	Seaman.
31. Ritter,	Knight.
32. Graf,	Count.
33. Altman,	Old man.
34. Gräfin,	Countess.
35. Edelfrau,	Lady.
36. Herzogin,	Duchess.
37. Kramer,	Pedlar.
38. Ackerman,	Ploughman.
39. Kind,	Child.
40. Jüngstes Gericht,	Last Judgment.
41. Wappen des Todes,	Arms of Death.

CLASS 4. *The Editions issued 1545-1562, containing 53 Plates.*

1-39 are the same as 1-39 in CLASS 3.

40. Kriegsmann,	Soldier.	47. Der Sieche,	The Beggar.
41. Spieler,	Gamester.	48. Kinder gruppen,	Group of children.
42. Sauffer,	Drunkard.	49. " " " "	" " " "
43. Narr,	Idiot-fool.	50. " " " "	" " " "
44. Räuber,	Robber.	51. " " " "	" " " "
45. Der Blinde,	The Blind Man.	52. Jüngstes Gericht,	Last Judgment.
46. Der Karrner,	The Wagoner.	53. Wappen des Todes,	Arms of Death.

CLASS 5. *Editions issued in 1562, with 58 Plates.* 1-44 are the same as 1-44 in CLASS 4.

45. Kinder gruppe,	Group of children.
46. Junge Gatten,	Young wife.
47. Junger Gatte,	Young husband.
48. Kinder gruppe,	Group of children.

49-57. The same as 45-43, CLASS 4.

58. Muficirende Kinder, Children practising music.*

ORIGINAL SERIES.—DIVISION I.

CLASS I. Containing 40 *Plates*, with super-scriptions in the *German language*, and in a *slanting Italian type*.

1. In the order of the plates under Clafs 1, p. 262 :

A very brilliant copy in the Cabinet of Prints of the Imperial Library of France. See Brunet's *Manuel*, vol. iii. col. 255.

2. Varying slightly from the order of this Paris copy :

A copy in the Cabinet of Prints at Berlin. See Woltmann, vol. ii. p. 408, *Einfseitige Abbrücke*, — *one side impressions*: Bâle.

3. Also perfect, a copy in the Museum at Bâle.

4. And, in the Print Room of the British Museum, from the Ottley Collection, purchased at Sotheby's sale in 1837, is a volume bearing on its back the title: "HOLBEIN'S DANCE OF DEATH;" a folio of 20 leaves, unnumbered.

In this volume, mounted on the right hand side of *eleven* of the leaves, are 95 PROOFS, *printed before the letter-press below them*, of HOLBEIN'S celebrated woodcuts of the DEATH-FIGURES. The leaves 12, 13, 17, 18, 19 and 20 are blank. The other leaves contain :

No. 1. A manuscript Memorandum of the different editions of the Death-Figures published at Lyons.

2-7. Each *six* plates, and No. 8, *five* plates; all with German super-scriptions, but without verses, *forty-one* plates.

9, 10. Each *two* plates, and No. 11, *one*; all with French super-scriptions and verses; in all *five* plates.

14. *Twenty-four* Initial Death-figured Letters of the same set, and *one* other; in all *twenty-five*.

15, 16. Each *twelve* plates; in all *twenty-four*; a set which Douce does not mention.

* This 58th plate in Clafs 5 is, some pages later, inserted between preface and text of the additional dissertation, *La Médecine d l'Ame*.

Measurements: The bound volume measures 27.3 centimes by 37.6; or 10.74 inches by 14.3; the superficial contents, 9.26 centi-ares, or 158.95 square inches. The 46 *German* and *French* plates, each about 6.5 c. by 4.5; or 2.559 inches by 1.77. The *first* set of 25 *Initial Letters*, each about 2.5 c. square, or .984 in. And the *second* set of *Initial Letters*, each about 4.5 c. by 3.5; or 1.77 in. by 1.37.

Contents: Plates 41, with German titles,* the series of Death-Figures.

Plates 5, of which *two* are figures of boys, with French titles and verses.

Plates 25. A set, purchased in April 1858 of Monsieur Durand de Lançon, of proofs of the Capital Letters of the alphabet, one of which bears the imprint of "Hans Lutzenburger."

Plates 24. A set altogether different from the others and larger; they are unknown to Douce and other writers.

5. Imperfect copies. See Woltmann, vol. ii. p. 409.

CLASS 2. A series of 41 plates, *der Sternenseher*, the *Astronomer*, being inserted the 23rd in order. The *superscriptions* differ in part from those of Class 1, and are in *bold, upright, gothic writing*.

Of this Class only imperfect copies are known, as the one mentioned both by Brunet, vol. iii. col. 255, and Woltmann, vol. ii. p. 409, as existing in the Cabinet of Prints in the Imperial Library at Paris.

ORIGINAL SERIES. — DIVISION II.

CLASS 3. The *Editions*, issued at Lyons, *between 1538 and 1545* inclusive.

1. "LES SIMULACHRES & historiees faces de la Mort, avtant elegammēt pourtraictes, que artificiellement imaginées," (the Trechfel device, with the mottoes *INŌΘI ΣΕΑΤΤΟΝ* and *Vfus me Genuit*). *A Lyon, Sous l'escu de Coloine* M.D.XXXVIII. Plates 41.

* The order of the plates appears in Wornum, pp. 182-3. His 36th plate, *Die Hertzoginn, the Duchess*, presents on a small shield the monogram H-L, assumed to be the initials of the engraver, and to denote, says Douce, ed. 1833, p. 98, and ed. 1858, p. 86, "in all probability, Hans Leuczellberger or Lutzenberger, sometimes called Franck."



Colophon: "Excudebant Lvgdvni Melchior et Gaspar Trechfel fratres. 1538." *

Small 4to. *Signatures* A-N, in fours = 104 pages, unnumbered; only p. 2 is blank.

Volume 18 c. by 13.2; or 7.08 in. by 5.196; i.e. 237.6 centi-ares, or 36.78 square inches; full pages 12.8 c. by 9.7; or 5.03 in. by 3.81; plates about 6.5 c. by 4.5; or 2.56 in. by 1.77.

Contents: (pp. 3-8); "Epistre des Faces de la Mort." (9-15); "Diuerfes Tables de la Mort." (16-56); Les 41 Planches. (57-72); Figvres de la Mort moralement descriptes, &c. (73-85); Les diuerfes Mors des bons et des mauuais. (84-93); "Memorables Autoritez," &c. (94-104); "De la Nécessité de la Mort," and "De la Nécessité de la préparation pour la Mort."

2. LES SIMULACHRES et historiées faces de la mort, contenant LA MEDICINE DE L'AME, utile et nécessaire non seulement aux malades, mais à tous ceux qui sont en bonne disposition corporelle. D'avantage, la forme et manière de consoler les malades. Sermon de Saint Cécile Cyprian, intitulé de Mortalité. Sermon de S. Jan Chrysostome pour exhorter à patience: traictant aussi de la conformation de ce siècle, et du second aduènement de Jésus-Christ; de la joie éternelle des justes, de la peine et damnation des mauvais, et autres choses nécessaires à un chascun chrestien, pour bien vivre et bien mourir. *A Lyon à l'escu de Coloigne chez Jan. et François Frellon frères.* 1542. Sm. 8vo. Plates 41.

To the plates are added, as in No. 1, the Latin quotations from Scripture and the French quatrains.

3. IMAGINES DE MORTE, et epigrammata, e gallico idiomate a Georgio Æmylio in Latinum translata. *Lugduni sub scuto Coloniensi, apud Joannem et Franciscum Frellonios fratres.* 1542. Sm. 8vo. Plates 41.

* The copy used for this *title*, and indeed for this *Fac-simile Reprint*, was lent by its owner, the Rev. Thomas Corser, M.A., of Stand, near Manchester, and has within it the book-mark of "Edward Vernon Utterfon," his arms and motto, "Spe otii laboro." There is written in pencil, "Première édition, très rare;" and, "The Gift of my esteemed friend, F. Douce, Esq.," signed "E. V. U," also "F. Douce." At Mr. Utterfon's sale in 1856 this copy sold for 17l. 17s. according to Brunet's *Manuel*, vol. iii. col. 255. This day, 20th March 1869, it has been sold at Sotheby's for 18l. 18s.

In this edition the French verses of 1538 and 1542 are translated into Latin, and by a German writer, **Georg Demmel**, a clergyman of repute, and the brother-in-law of Luther. Had there been a German original of the verses, the translation into Latin would have been made from the German and not from the French. See Douce's *Holbein*, ed. 1858, p. 93, and Woltmann, vol. ii. p. 109.

4. "IMAGINES MORTIS; his accesservnt, EPIGRAMMATA, à Gallico idiomate à GEORGIO ÆMYLIO in Latinum translata. Ad hæc, MEDICINA ANIMÆ, tam ijs qui firma, quàm qui aduersa corporis ualetudine præditi sunt, maxime necessaria. RATIO consolandi ob morbi grauitatem periculose decumbentes. QUÆ his addita sunt, sequens pagina commonstrabit." (Device, Crab and Butterfly, MATVRA.) LVGDVNI, SVB SVCTO COLONIENSI. 1545." Sm. 8vo. Plates 42.

Colophon: "Lugduni Excudebant Ioannes & Franciscus Frelonii fratres. 1545."

Sm. 8vo. *Reg. Sign.* A-K in eights, L in four = 84 leaves or 168 pages, unnumbered; 2 pages blank. Perfect.* Copy used, — from the Keir library, Sir Wm. Stirling Maxwell's.

Volume: 14.4 c. by 9.4; or 5.66 in. by 3.7; i.e. *superficial measure*, 135. centi-ares; or 20.9 sq. inches. Full pages, 12. c. by 7.7, including margin; or 4.72 in. by 3.03. Devices, 6.5 c. by 4.8; or 2.55 in. by 1.88.

Contents: On A v, Index; A 2, "Ad Lectorem christianum, Epigramma," 24 lines of Latin verse; A 2 v, "Fraxinevs, Æmylio svo," in 2 lines, and a quotation from Ambrosius; A 3-C 7, the 41 plates, &c. of *Images of Death*; C 8-G 3, "Medicina Animæ;" G 4-H 4, "Ratio & Methodus consolandi;" H 5-I 7, "Cypriani Sermo de Mortalitate;" I 7 v, an extra plate, the Beggar, in count the 42nd; I 8, K, "Oratio ad Deum;" K 2, "Oratio ad Christum;" K 3-L 4, "Chrysofomi Sermo de Patientia;" L 4 v, *Colophon*.

Of the 42 devices, 41 are the same with those of *Les Simulachres &c. de la Mort*, Lyons 1538, but there is a Latin stanza instead of a French quatrain; the 42nd device, Lazarus at the rich man's gate, is inserted at signature I 7 v.

The owner of the copy collated records on a fly leaf. "Douce believes the designs to have been made by one Reperdius, and the woodcuts to have been executed by Hans Lutzenberger, whose monogram or initial appears H-L on plate 36." He adds: "The present edition, the 4th, was translated from the edition in French in 1542. The blocks were frequently used in later editions, in 1547, 1549, 1554 and 1562."

* In this copy no trace on the first plate of the crack from top to bottom, of which Woltmann speaks, vol. ii. p. 409. Did the accident happen while the edition was in the prefs, and so a portion escape uninjured?

CLASS 4. The *Editions*, issued at Lyons, between 1545 and 1562.

5. IMAGINES MORTIS ; duodecim imaginibus præter priores, &c. cumulatae. *Lugduni, Joan. et Franc. Frellonii*, 1545. Sm. 8vo. Plates 53.

6. IMAGINES MORTIS ; duodecim imaginibus præter priores, totidemque inscriptionibus præter epigrammata e gallicis a GEORGIO ÆMYLIO in Latinum, cumulatae. Quæ his addita sunt, sequens pagina commonstrabit. *Lugduni sub scuto Colonienfi*. 1547. Sm. 8vo. Plates 53.

Colophon: "Excudebat Johannes Frellonius. 1547."

As early as the year 1538 only the name of one of the brothers Frellon sometimes appears. See Woltmann, vol. ii. p. 58. Under the date 1547 there is an edition bearing the names of the two brothers "Joan. & Franc. Frellonii." Some copies of the edition No. 6 have on the titlepage, "ICONES Mortis," instead of "IMAGINES Mortis," but such copies are in every other respect the same with the edition of 1547, No. 6, above described.

7. LES IMAGES de la mort, aux quelles sont adioustées douze figures. Davantage, la médecine de l'ame ; la consolation des malades ; un sermon de mortalité, par Sainct Cyprian ; un sermon de patience, par Sainct Johan. Chrysostome. (Device, Crab and Butterfly.) *A Lyon A l'escu de Cologne chez Jehan Frellon*. 1547. Sm. 8vo. Plates 53.

Colophon: "Imprimé à Lyon, à l'escu de Coloigne, par Jehan Frellon. 1547."

8. SIMOLACHRI, historie, e figvre de la morte. La medicina de l'anima. Il modo, e la via di consolar gl'infermi. Vn fermone di San Cipriano de la mortalità. Due orationi, l'vna à Dio e l'altra à Christo. Vn fermone di S. Giouan chrisostomo, che ci efforta à pazienza. Aiuntoui di nuouo molte figure mai piu stampate. (Device, Crab and Butterfly.) *In Lyone appresso Giovan Frellone*. M.D.XLIX. Sm. 8vo. Plates 53.

Though the plates of this edition are of the Original Series, the Italian translation has been adopted from a Venice edition, "*Appresso Vincenzo Valgris al segno d'Erasmo*, 1545." Sm. 8vo. Plates, 41. These 41 Venice plates were

from new blocks, and were used again in 1546 for an edition with a Latin title. *Twenty-four* of them also served, says Brunet, vol. iii. col. 257, for

"DISCORSI morali del fig. FABIO GLISSENTI contra il dispiacer del morire, detto Athanatophilia." *Venetia* 1609. 4to.

A beautifully perfect copy belonging to H. Yates Thompson, Esq., supplies the means of completing our notice of this edition of the *SIMOLACHRI*, 1549 :

12mo. *Reg. Sign.* A-O in eights = 112 leaves, all unnumbered.

Volume: 14.9 c. by 9.1 ; or 5.86 in. by 3.58 ; *i.e.* superficial measure, 136. centi-ares ; or 21 square inches ; full pages, 12.1 c. by 6.6 ; or 4.76 in. by 2.59 ; devices about 6.4 c. by 4.6 ; or 2.51 in. by 1.81.

Contents: At A 2, "Alli Saggi et Giudiciofi Lettori;" A 3-D 5, the 53 Latin mottoes, Figures of Death and Italian stanzas ; D 5 v, Rom. v. 12 ; D 6-8, "Prefatione de la Medicina de l'anima ; D 8 v-K 2, "La Medicina de l'anima;" K 2 v-L 5, "La Maniera del consolar gl'infermi ; L 5 v-M 8, "Sermone di San Cipriano;" N 3, "Oratione a Dio;" N 3 v-4, "Oratione a Christo;" N 5-O 8, "Sermone di San Giovan Crisostomo;" O 8 v, Colophon ; device, Crab and Butterfly, "Matvra."

The emblems are 53, each with a Latin text, a device, and an Italian stanza of four lines. There are 12 emblems additional to those in the French edition of 1538, and they are given in photo-lith fac-simile in our reprint, Appendix 2^o, pp. (233)-(248). It may be of interest to compare them with those which Douce gives from the Lyons edition of 1547.

The devices, drawn by Holbein, and for the most part, that is in forty-one instances, cut by Lutzenberger, are admirable. Some of the impressions are even better than those which were printed at Lyons in 1538 with a French text.

9. *ICONES mortis ; duodecim imaginibus præter priores, todidemque inscriptionibus præter epigrammata e gallicis a GEORGIO ÆMYLIO in Latinum versa, cumulatæ. Quæ his addita sunt, sequens pagina commonstrabit. Basilæ* 1554. 8vo. Plates 53.

CLASS 5. The *Edition* of 1562, with 58 plates.

10. *LES IMAGES de la mort, aux quelles sont adioustées dix-sept figures. Davantage, la médecine de l'ame. La consolation des malades. Un sermon de mortalité, par Saint Cyprian. Un sermon de patience, par Saint Jehan Chrysostome. (Device, Crab and Butterfly, MATVRA.) A Lyon par Jehan Frellon. 1562. 8vo. Plates 58.*

Colophon: "A Lyon, par Symphorien Barbier."

According to Woltmann, vol. ii. p. 410, Weigel accounts this edition as almost the rarest of all, and names moreover another edition of 1562, that is without the increased number of figures.

Though the editions above named do not absolutely complete the list of imprints after the model and woodcuts of the Lyons edition of 1538, they are amply sufficient for setting forth a very full view of the series of which that edition is the representative head. For the different series of editions which are not immediately related to the work here presented to our readers in Photo-lith fac-simile, we refer to Douce's full and lucid pages, or to Brunet, Langlois, Wornum and Woltmann. We will, however, catalogue a few of the

MISCELLANEOUS EDITIONS.

1. *Der Todtentanz, The Dance of the Dead.* 1542. Folio. Plates 42.

A copy in the British Museum, marked "C. 43. d." The plates and the text are mounted on tinted paper.

Folio. *Reg. Sign.* A-G in sixes = 42 leaves, unnumbered. Initial page blank. 41 printed pages.

Volume: 29.2 c. by 20.3; or 11.49 in. by 7.99; *i.e.* 592.7 centi-ares; or 91.8 sq. inches. Plates, about 19.4 c. by 14.4; or 7.63 in. by 5.66. Full pages, 17.5 c. by 10.4; or 6.88 in. by 4.09.

Contents: Forty-two devices, rudely but expressively sculptured, and all coloured. Of these forty-one are each followed by a Latin motto and some stanzas of German verse;—the 42nd on leaf G *vi verso* has neither motto nor stanza, but is usually named Death's Escutcheon. By whom the plates were engraved is not known.

As a specimen we add the letterpress of plate 1:

"Principio omnipotens coelum terramq, creauit."

Gott hat erschaffen menschlichs geschlecht
Zü erst inn vnschuld frumb vnd gerecht
Formieret nach der bildnuß seen
Vnd geben im die erden een
Darzū mit herrschafft hoch erhebt
Wast vber yedes thier so liebt
Am freyen willen glassen auch
Das es gut oder bösem nach
Döcht herren Das doch nit lang gwert
Denn seen natur was so verthert

Das sie vll mer zü argern gnaigt
 Wie sich ann ersten that erzaigt
 Dem schaden war noch alle nach
 Vnd fallen steets inn losz hait auch
 Weyl vnser flaisch ist so verderbt
 Das es die sijnd von Adam erbt.

This *early* German may be compared with the *later* given from Rentz's *Remembrance of Death and Eternity*, in our reprint at pp. 120-21.

2. IMAGINES MORTIS. HIS ACCESSERVNT EPIGRAMMATA à Gallico idiomate à Georgio Æmylio in Latinum translata. AD HÆC MEDICINA ANIMÆ, tam ijs, qui firma, quàm qui aduersa corporis valetudine præditi sunt, maximè necessaria. QVÆ *his addita sunt, sequens pagina demonstrabit.* (Device, Tree and Hen, ARNOLD BIRCKMAN.) COLONIAE, *Apud hæredes Arnoldi Birckmanni.* Anno 1566. Sm. 8vo. Plates 53.

Sm. 8vo. *Reg.* *Sign.* of a copy from the Keir library, A-L in eights; M in sevens = 95 leaves, or 190 pages, unnumbered. Perfect; a good copy.

Volume: 14. c. by 9; or 5.51 in. by 3.54; *i.e.* *superficial* measure, 126 centi-ares, or 19.5 sq. inches. Full pages, 11.8 c. by 7.5 with margin; or 4.64 in. by 2.95. Devices, about 6.7 c. by 5.4; or 2.63 in. by 2.12.

Contents: Very similar, except in some of the devices, to those of the edition of 1545 by George Æmylius.

The 53 devices are not from the same blocks as those of editions 1538 and 1545; though of 41 of them the designs are the same, they have been fresh drawn and fresh cut, and present the subjects reversed. There are 39 the same in subject as those of editions 1538 and 1545.

7 others, with death-figures introduced.

1 is Lazarus at the rich man's gate, in edition 1545.

4 are boys: 1°. with spear and shield; 2°. riding on long reeds; 3°. bacchanals; 4°. marching in triumph.

At *sign.* B 2, the Abbess, and at *sign.* B 3, the Canon, the monogram A may be observed; also on C 6v, Death and the Soldier, the figure of death is armed with "the common-place dart"; and generally the plates of this edition are reversed, as may be seen in the plates of the Creation, the Dukes, the Last Judgment and the Escutcheon of Death, in their fac-similes under the Appendix, 1° b, pp. (228)-(232).

This edition of 1566 is regarded by Douce, 1833, pp. 113-14, as one of a series of "surreptitious editions," of which the first appeared at Cologne in 1555, and was repeated in 1566, 1567 and 1573. "Though not devoid of merit, they are very inferior to the fine originals."

N.B. A volume in the Douce collection of the Bodleian library, marked "M. M. 661," has written in it: "Copies of the spurious cuts by A." The observation may be applied to the whole series of cuts in Birckmann's and in similar editions; they have not the ring of genuine gold.

3. LE TRIOMPHE de la Mort gravé d'apres les Dessesins de Holbein, par W. HOLLAR. 8vo.

This copy, in the Bodleian library, Douce collection, "M. M. 662," has a curious portrait of Holbein, in purple and gold, lettered "H. H. Æ. 45." The collation and examination of it give the following results:

8vo. No signatures except A; no pagination. In count there are 46 leaves, of which 30 have plates on one side only of the leaf, *one* leaf is blank, and 15 leaves are printed on both sides.

Volume: 17.1 c. by 11.9; or 6.73 in. by 4.68; *i.e. superficies* 203.5 centi-ares, or 31.59 sq. inches. The plates measure about 7.5 c. by 5.5; or 2.95 in. by 2.16; the text is rather larger than the plates.

Contents: Plates and "explications des sujets du triomphe de la Mort," interposed. The plates have each a Latin text at the foot from Holy Scripture; they are, Douce declares, "original impressions before rebiting."

4. Erinnerungen des Todes und der Ewigkeit bey zwey und fünfzig von den berühmten M. Rentz, in Kupfer gestochenen Vorstellungen welche zur Erweckung geistlicher Gedanken, und zur Uebung der Tugend dienen. (Device, Cupid sorrowing at a tomb.) EZNZ, in der k. k. akademischen Buchhandlung. 1779. Folio. Plates 52.

The copy used, from the collection of Henry Yates Thompson, Esq., furnishes the following descriptive remarks:

Folio. *Reg. Sign.* Frontispiece and title, 2 leaves; A-38 in twos - 94 leaves; then 51 plates on 51 leaves; total, 145 leaves or 290 pages. Initial, 4 unnumbered, 1-182 numbered, and final 2 unnumbered - 188 pages; add the plate leaves 51, or 102 pages. Total, 290 pages. Perfect, and in fine condition.

Volume: 33.3 c. by 20.5; or 13.11 in. by 8.07; *i.e. superficies* 682.6 centi-ares; or 105.89 sq. inches; full pages, about 27.2 c. by 15.7; or 10.7 in. by 6.18. Devices, copperplate, about 24.5 c. by 14.5; or 9.64 in. by 5.7.

Contents: Frontispiece, "*Die erwogene Eytelkeit aller Menschlichen Dinge.*" Title. Pages 1-3, discourse, "The proved vanity of all human things." Pages 3-182, fifty-one discourses on the emblems and their devices. Page 183, register of the 52 subjects. Finally, on 51 leaves 51 copperplates.

These devices are founded on and derived from Holbein's *Figures of Death*, but are far more ornate and embellished. To each at the top is a rhyming German motto, and below a German title, followed by a German stanza of four lines. Of the stanzas 41 are given at pages 120-40 of this our work.

The order of arrangement of subjects in this edition gives the precedence in all offices to the church above the state. At the head, of course, stand the Creation, the Fall, the Expulsion, the Curse, and Death's founding forth of Triumph, — but then from Pope to Nun, the ecclesiastical rank, with a pretence even to a shred of the linen vestment of Aaron, lead the way in this Grand Drama of Art, and Kaifer, Kaiferinn, down to the Idiot-fool, the Blind and the Beggar, follow on in due succession, — till the final Judgment closes the array. As Satire or as Truth the Drama is equally impressive:

"The glories of our blood and state
Are shadows, not substantial things;
There is no armour against fate;
Death lays his icy hand on kings:
Sceptre and Crown
Must tumble down,
And in the dust be equal made
With the poor crooked scythe and spade."

F. Shirley.

5. DEUCHAR'S HOLBEIN. French and English. 4to. Edinburgh 1786–88. Plates 51.

Engraved title. "LE TRIOMPHE de la Mort, Gravé d'après les Dessins originaux de Jean Holbein, par David Deuchar. 1786."

Plain title. "THE DANCES OF DEATH through the various stages of Human Life, wherein the Capriciousness of that Tyrant is exhibited in forty-six Copper-plates, done from the Original Designs which were cut in Wood, and afterwards painted by John Holbein, in the town-house at Basil. To which is prefixed Descriptions of each Plate in French and English, with the Scripture Text from which the designs were taken. Edinburgh M.DCC.LXXXVIII."

A title with mistakes almost as numerous as the lines.

4to. *Reg. Sign.* A–L in twos; M 1–23 leaves or 46 pages of letter-press. Including the engraved title and the portraits there are 51 plates inserted.

Volume: 18.9 c. by 15.2; or 7.44 in. by 5.98; *i.e. superficies* 287.2 centi-ares; or 44.49 sq. inches; engraved title, 11. c. by 9.8; or 4.33 in. by 3.85; full pages, 15. c. by 8.8; or 5.9 in. by 3.46; devices, 11. c. by 9.3; or 4.33 in. by 3.66.

Contents: Preface in 2 pages; then pp. 1–46, explanations of the plates, in French and English; besides the inserted plates.

All the engravings have borders of rich workmanship. "David Deuchar," observes Douce, 1858, p. 120, "is sometimes called the Scottish Worlidge," but his imitations of Holbein are very inferior to those by Hollar. Full parti-

culars respecting his *Dances of Death* are supplied at the pages of Douce to which we have just referred.

The number of Miscellaneous Editions it would be easy to increase, but what we have named and described fully show the variety of artists who have bestowed their skill in variations upon the hitherto unmatched workmanship of Lützelburger's transferences of Holbein's Designs. The *Essai* by Langlois contains abundant information, as well as Douce's *Holbein*.

FAC-SIMILE EDITIONS.

These, in a considerable degree, have been restricted to the reproduction of the original woodcuts which existed in 1538, or of which the designs soon after that date were accepted as Holbein's work. Artists, indeed, did not always take the best examples for their models, and sometimes introduced their own fanciful ornamentation; but their aim was to present to the public again and again the forms which, as Death-figures, had obtained so great celebrity.

The first reproduction, containing 41 plates, was issued at Venice in 1545 by Vincenzo Valgris, and the editor, says Brunet (vol. iii. col. 256), "flattered himself that his plates were superior to the French engravings." At any rate they possessed considerable merit.

Wenceslaus Hollar, besides engraving several of Holbein's portraits, executed, about the year 1651, *thirty* etchings of his Death-figures; these are surrounded by borders, and certainly evince the artist's power. Only in part, however, has he followed the models of simple beauty presented by the woodcuts of the Lyons edition of 1538; in the greater number of instances he has copied from "the spurious engravings" that appeared at Cologne about the middle of the sixteenth century.

Respecting this and several other imitations of Holbein's Death-figures, the very best account in English may be found in chapter viii. at pages 111-120 and 121-137 of the following work; which Woltmann characterises as "the most mark-worthy of modern copies:"

"THE DANCE OF DEATH exhibited in elegant engravings on wood, with a DISSERTATION on the several representations of that subject, but more particularly on those ascribed to MACABER and HANS HOLBEIN. By FRANCIS DOUCE, Esq., F.A.S. &c. 8vo. *London, Pickering.* 1833."

The wood-engravings of this work are by Messrs. Bonner and Byfield, and are as near an approach to the perfect fac-simile reprint as the unassisted skill of the human hand can attain. The same work forms part of Bohn's edition, 1858, which, for the information to which reference is made above, may be consulted at pages 98-107 and 107-21.

As a worthy "con-frère" to Douce's *Holbein*, we name also the work by Langlois :

"ESSAI Historique, Philosophique et Pittoresque sur LES DANSES DES MORTS, par E. H. LANGLOIS du Pont-de-l'arche, accompagné de cinquante-quatre planches et de nombreuses vignettes; Définées et Graveés par E. H. Langlois, M^{le} Esperance Langlois, MM. Brevière et Tudot: fuivi D'une lettre de M. C. Leber et d'une note de M. Depping sur le même sujet. Ouvrage complété et publié par M. André Pottier, conservateur de la Bibliothèque de Rouen, et M. Alfred Baudry." 2 vols. 8vo. *Rouen, à Lebrument, Libraire, Quai Napoléon, 45.* M.DCCC.LI.

A work of great beauty and excellence, as well on "Les Danfes Macabres" as on "Les Danfes des Morts." They are treated of both as ecclesiastical ceremonies, and with a view to their moral effect. The second volume, pp. 1-207, is devoted to the explanation of the plates, and the first volume, pp. 325-366, presents a bibliography of the publications, whether in French or in other languages, having a direct reference to the subject.

It is however to Photography and its kindred arts we must look for having the truest fac-simile reprints. Among them, in connexion with our own reprint, we may name

1. HANS HOLBEIN's Todtentanz, in 53 getreu nach den Holzschnitten lithographirten Blättern, herausgegeben von J. Schlottbauer, k. Professor mit erklärendem Texte. *München* 1832. Sm. 8vo.

This is accounted a very exact production of the ancient woodcuts. German verses accompany the plates, but they are of modern date.



2. "LA DANSE DES MORTS, dessinée par Hans Holbein, gravée sur pierre par Jos. Schlotthauer, expliquée par Hyppolyte Fortoul." *Paris, Labitte*. Sm. 8vo. Plates 53.

3. In reference to Holbein's *Totentanz*, by A. Woltmann; "Photographien derselben Blätter, nach Berliner Probedrucken, A. Woltmann." Berlin.

4. "HANS HOLBEIN'S celebrated Dance of Death, illustrated by a series of *Photo-lithographic Fac-similes* from the copy of the first edition now in the British Museum, accompanied by Explanatory Descriptions and *A Concise History of the Origin and Subsequent Development of the Subject*, by H. NOEL HUMPHREYS." Sm. 4to. *London, Quaritch*, 1868. Plates 41, and 3 Illustrations.

Contents: Pages 1-32, "Hans Holbein and the Dance of Death." Pages 33-115, the series of fac-similes from Holbein's "Dance of Death," 1-41. Pages 116-20, three illustrative plates. Pages 121-25, the treatment of the devices of the "Dance of Death," *after the time of Holbein*.

The last page of this work, p. 125, refers to the sources whence further information is to be obtained, and after naming them, concludes: "M. Kestner, in the 'Danse des Morts,' (Paris 1852), gives a still more extensive list, classified in a well-constructed tabular form; and this elaborated work may be consulted by all who are interested in the origin and successive phases of artistic treatment of the great pictorial epic of the middle ages."

What room or demand is there, then, for another Fac-simile Reprint of Holbein's *Figures of Death*? Simply this. Hitherto, in modern times there has been no reprint, much less a Photo-lithographic Fac-simile of the *entire work*, in the execution of which Holbein, Lützelburger, and Jean Vauzelles were combined, and which first issued from the presses of Lyons in 1538. That is now attempted as a prelude to similar enterprises.

In conclusion, we state that this our reprint of the *whole work* was commenced before the publication, or any knowledge of the publication, of Noel Humphreys' very interesting volume.

6°—STANZE LIII. DEI SIMOLACHRI &c.
DE LA MORTE.

In Lyone appresso Giovan Frellone, M. D. XLIX.

N.B. The Texts of Holy Scripture in Latin which precede the Devices are the same in the Italian version, as in the French original, and in the Latin version by Æmylius.

I. CREATION DEL MONDO.

Di loto formò l'huomo à sua sembianza
I Facitor de'l cielo, e de la terra,
E lo rispose in quella amena stanza.
Senza pēsier, trauaglio, affanno, ò guerra.

II. IL PECCATO.

Perch' hai atteso a'l dir de la tua moglie,
Et hai mangiato de'l vietato pomo,
Viurai feco molt' anni in molte doglie,
Et poi morrette, e così fia d'ogn' huomo.

III. LA SCACCIATA.

Scacciollo il Signor Dio de'l Paradiso,
A laorar la terra, ond' era nato.
Allhor si volse in pianto ogni suo riso,
Et hebbe sempre poi la morte al lato.



IV. MALEDITIONE.

Maledetto il terren ne li tuoi stenti :
Tu viuerai de le fatiche tue :
Fin che li giorni tuoi fian da me spenti,
E'l corpo torni in polue, v'prima fue.

V. LA FESTANZA DE LA MORTE.

Guai, guai à gli habitanti de la terra :
Tutt' in cui fu spiracolo di vita
Sentit' han de la Morte l'aspra guerra :
Ne fu giamai, ch' in ciò trouasse aita.

VI. IL PAPA.

Esca di vita il Sacerdote grande,
Che par che cura di morir non haggia :
Spengafi insieme il nome, ch' egli spande,
E'l vescouato suo in altrui caggia.

VII. L'IMPERATORE.

Prouedi à fatte tuoi, che morir dei :
E non ti creder di restar più in vita :
Anchor tu, come gli altri, mortal sei,
E la tua gloria teco fia smarrita.

VIII. IL RE.

Hoggi egli è Re, domane inutil pondo :
Ne si troua, ch' alcun, per esse Sire,
Ne possessor de l'vniuerso mondo,
Habbia potuto mai Morte fuggire.

IX. IL CARDINALE.

Guai, guai à voi, che per ingordi doni,
Ingiustamente fate giusti gli empi :
Leuando la giustitia da li buoni,
E dando a'l mondo scelerati esempi.

X. L'IMPERATRICE.

Iddio abbassa il gir superbo, e altero,
E con la morte paudentosa, e dura,
Mentre gir pensi per miglor sentiero,
Ti conduce à la negra sepoltura.

XI. LA REGINA.

Morbide donne, ricche, & ociose
Leuateui, et vdite la mia voce,
Dopo alcun giorno, & anno dispettose
Verrete à sostener mia forte atroce.

XII. IL VESCOVO.

Percottero'l Pastor d'aspra percossa,
E le fue pecorelle fian disperse :
Ne farà Morte da'l suo officio mossa
Per mitre : ò manti, ò cose altre diuerse.

XIII. IL PRINCIPE.

Il Prencipe infelice, & l'alto stato
Si vestirà di dolorosi guai :
Abbasserò i Potenti, e non è stato
Che potuto fuggir m' habbia giamai.

XIV. L'ABBATE.

Gli conuerrà pur gir dietro à la morte :
E perche disciplina mai non hebbe,
Ne la sua gran stoltitia fu per forte
Trouato e fece, quel ch' ogn'vn far debbe.

XV. LA BADESSA.

Maggior' inuidia, senza dubbio, porto
A quelli, che già son di vita priui,
E del breue lor viuer giunti a'l porto :
Non ch' a quelli, che sono a'l mōdo viui.



XVI. IL CAVALIERE.

Chi serà mai così gagliardo, è forte,
Che'n questo mōdo femp̃re viuer possia :
E le man fuggir tanto de la morte,
Ch' a'l fin non caggia ne la scura fossa.

XVII. IL CANONE.

Ecco, che l' hora extrema f' auicina:
Di questa, che ti par sì dolce, vita :
Girann' i tuo pensier tutti à ruina,
Ne fia chi contra me ti porga aita.

XVIII. IL GIUDICE.

Disperderò del mezzo de le genti,
Il giudice co'l cor pien d' auaritia :
Che facendo i più pouero dolenti,
A chi più porge, vende la giustia.

XIX. L' AVVOCATO.

L' astuto di lontan vede l' inganno,
Et si retrae, perche'l tutto scorge :
E l' innocente ne patisce danno,
Perche de la malitia non f' accorge.

XX. IL SENATORE.

Colui, ch' al gran gridar de'l bisogno
Chiude gli orecchi, e gli altri sentimēti,
Egli ancor griderà tutto doglioso :
E' i gridi suoi ne porteranno i venti.

XXI. IL PREDICATORE.

Guai à voi, che gracchiando tutto'l giorno,
Dite'l mal esser bene, e'l bene male :
E'l giorno esser la notte, e notte'l giorno,
E amaro'l dolce, e'l dolce a'l fiele eguale.

XXII. IL SACERDOTE.

Mentr' i vò à vifitar, ch' infermo giace,
Penfandomi foccorrere' a'l fuo male:
La morte prefta in tanto mi diface:
Perche fon, come lui, anch'io mortale.

XXIII. IL MONACO.

Ne le tenebre ftan de l'ignoranza,
E ne l'ombra profonda de la morte:
Dal forfantar tenuti per vïanza,
Senza penfar à la futura forte.

XXIV. LA MONACA.

La via, ch' a'l giudicio human par dritta,
Tutta è bella di fuor, tutta riluce,
E par, che guidi à la beata vita:
Ma'l fin di quella à morte ti conduce.

XXV. LA VECCHIA.

Io già certa fon, per lunga proua,
Prima ch' i' habbia la mia età fornita:
Che, poi che'l viuer così poco gioua,
Meglio è'l morir, che la prefente vita.

XXVI. IL MEDICO.

Cura te ftelfo medico, fe fai,
Che penfi altrui cauar de le mie mani:
E più infelici, che contenti fai:
Ma'i fon per fare i tuoi difegni vani.

XXVII. L'ASTROLOGO.

Dimmi, fe fai le cofe da venire,
Sapeui tu, che nafcer già doueui?
Conofci tu, quando tu dei morire?
Oh quante fono i tuoi difegni lieui!

A A

XXVIII. L'AVARO.

Il tuo discorfo è ben folle, e leggiere,
Questa notte la vita ti fia tolta,
E non haurà successo il tuo pensiero.
Di cui fia poi questa tua gran ricolta ?

XXIX. IL MERCANTE.

Chi congrega theforo con bugie,
Ha l'alma in tutto d'intelletto priua :
E caminando pur per queste vie,
N'e lacci ascosi de la morte arriua.

XXX. I MARINAJI.

Ch' in amassar ricchezze è troppo intento
Cade'n trauaglio longo, & in supplicio.
Ne viuendo si troua mai contento,
Et è commerfo a'l fin' in precipitio.

XXXI. IL GUERRIERO.

Ei si morrà, che i popoli turbati
A furor contra lui si moueranno :
Ne fian gli animi lor giamai chetati,
Fin che di vita spento non l'hauranno.

XXXII. IL CONTE.

Quand'ei si partirà di questa vita,
Non porterà già seco tutto'l mondo :
E la gloria, che gli è tanto gradita,
Non discenderà seco ne'l profondo.

XXXIII. IL VECCHIO.

Lo spirto mio fe ne và mancando,
E'i giorni miei son già venuti a'l meno :
Serò pur hor di questa vita in bando,
E de'l sepolcro ne'l profondo feno.

XXXIV. LA CONTESSA.

Spendono i giorni lor'in cose vane,
Come fusser per star di quà in eterno :
Ma subito in vn punto queste infane,
Si trouan giù ne'l centro de l'inferno.

XXXV. LA SPOSA E LO SPOSO.

Tanto ci ha amor con gli animi cōgiunti,
Poi ch' à me fatta sei dolce conforte :
Che non farem l'vn da l'altro disgiunti,
Se non per violenza de la morte.

XXXVI. LA DUCHESSA.

Più non ti leuerai de'l caro letto,
Doue senza penfier corcata sei,
Che l'improuisa morte, à tuo dispetto,
Ti condurrà've destinata sei.

XXXVII. IL MERCANTUZZO.

Vientene à me meschin, che carco sei :
Ch' io son colei, che tutto'l mōdo doma :
Vienten'e ascolta li consigli miei,
Ch' io ti vò allegirir di questa soma.

XXXVIII. L'ARATORE.

Mifero ne'l fudor de la tua faccia,
Cōuien, ch'acquisti'l pan, che mǎgiar dei
Però di venir mecco non ti spiaccia,
Se di riposo desiofo sei.

XXXIX. LA MADRE ED IL FANCIULLO.

L'huom ch'è nato di donna, in questa vita
Poco tempo dimora, e si distrugge
Tra la miseria, ch'è quasi infinita,
E come fior', & ombra viene, e fugge.



APPENDIX.

XL. IL SOLDATO.

Mentre ha vita, e vigor, armato, e forte
Il buon soldato, il luogo suo difende,
Soprauenendo poi l'amara morte,
Li toglie l'arme, e lo rapisce, & prende.

XLI. IL GIUOCATORE.

Che giouaal' huom, che tutto'l mondo acquisti,
Se l'alma sua poi ne riceue danno?
Onde ne i luoghi tenebrofi, & tristi
Pianga dannata à sempiterno affanno.

XLII. IL BRIACONE.

Fuggi l'ebrieta, da cui prociede
Luffuria, ond' à mal far t'auazzi, & vfi,
Che morte contra te, mouendo 'l piede
Non ti troui nel fin con gli occhi chiusi.

XLIII. L'IDIOTA.

Viuefi lieto il pazzo, & ignorante,
Et mentre sta del suo gioir ficuro
Come semplice agnel, la morte auante
Lo conduce al suo varco acerbo, & duro.

XLIV. IL LADRONE.

Surge'l ladron di mezza notte, e inuola
La foltanza che'l pouero notrifce,
Quel piange, & ecco morte ch' alla gola
De'l ladro auolgevn laccio, & qui finisce.

XLV. IL CIECO.

Il cieco guida'l cieco, onde egualmente
Caggiono insieme entro vna fossa oscura,
Così chi viuer pensa lungamente,
Morte incauto il conduce in sepoltura.

XLVI. IL CARRETTAJO.

Sopra d'un carro, per fuggir la morte,
Corre l'auriga, ella con fretta mossa
Tanto lo segue, che per fatal forte,
Si rompe'l carro, e di lui frange l'ossa.

XLVII. IL MENDICANTE.

Chi viuer brama in cielo, eterna vita,
Brama vscir di qua giù, ne morte teme.
Trammi della pregion poco gradita,
Grida'l pouero, mentre in Christo hà speme.

XLVIII. IL SEMPLICE FANCIUL.

Il semplice fanciul contra la morte,
Ardito, in mano ha la faetta, e'l scudo,
Ella di lui via piu possente, & forte,
Traffige con fuoi strali il corpo ignudo.

XLIX. I FANCIULLI CAVALCANDI.

Per disio di giocar semplicemente
Caualcano vna canna ardite & presti
I fanciulli, ma caggion prestamente,
Lasciando i corpi efangui, atri, & funesti.

L. I FANCIULLI BACCANALI.

A guisa di fanciul senza pensiero
Viue colui, che alle lasciue è intento,
Ma quel, si como peso affai leggiro
Morte ne toglie, quando è piu contento.

LI. I FANCIULLI TRIONFALI.

D'hauer le piu honorate, altere, e degne
Anime sciolie dalle membra morte,
Hora diuide l'acquistate infegne
D'ogni' huomo, al fin la ventictrice forte.

LII. (40). IL TRIBUNAL DI DIO.

Toſto fia tempo di pagare il fio :
 Però vegghiando aſpettiam'il Signore.
 Starem dinanzi a'l tribunal di Dio,
 A render conto d'ogni noſtro errore.

LIII. (41). LO SCUDO DE LA MORTE.

Habbi ne la memoria ſemper fitto
 L'ultimo paſſo, oue ciaſcuno arriua,
 E non regnerà in te giamai delitto,
 E l'alma tua ſerà, morendo, viua.

To the original ſeries of 41 plates from the French edition of 1538, there have been added in the Appendix, pp. 236-47, *twelve* other plates, xl-li, from the *Simolachri &c. de la Morte*, 1549, with the Italian ſtanžas, pp. 277-86. Among theſe we point out the IDIOT-FOOL, pl. xliij, p. 239; and if we join to it pl. xxiv (ſign. Eiiij, p. 132), the NUN, we obtain two inſtances more, in which to eſtabliſh paralleliſms or co-incidences between Shakeſpeare and Holbein's Death-Figures.

Take the Nun at the altar, where a gallant is ſerenading her, and Death ſteps forward to extinguiſh the candle. Noel Humphreys aſks, p. 81: "May not Shakeſpeare have had this device in his mind when penning the paſſage in which Othello (act v. ſc. 2, l. 7), determining to kill Deſdemona, exclaims, 'Put out the light — and then — put out the light?'"

More remarkable for ſimilarity are the lines from *Measure for Measure*, act iii. ſc. 1, l. 6-13:

"Reaſon thus with life:

If I do loſe thee, I do loſe a thing
 That none but fools would keep: a breath thou art
 Servile to all the ſkyey influences,
 That doſt this habitation, where thou keep'ſt,
 Hourly afflikt: merely, thou art death's-fool;
 For him thou labour'ſt by thy flight to ſhun,
 And yet runn'ſt toward him ſtill."

The exact action which the poet deſcribes is that of the two highly dramatic figures of Holbein. In ſubſtance Woltmann remarks (vol. ii. p. 122), the fool is fooliſh enough to think that he can ſlip away from death; this adverſary in ſport ſeems to give in; — ſkips near, playing on the bagpipe, but, unobſerved, holds him faſt by the garment. So ſhall to all of us,

"The baſeleſſe fabricke of this viſion... leaſe not a racke behind."

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